New Perspectives on Historical Latin Syntax 1

Syntax of the Sentence

Philip Baldi
Pierluigi Cuzzolin
Editors



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Volume 1: Syntax of the Sentence

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Contents

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List of abbreviations

[anim]	animate (as semantic feature)
[def]	definite (as semantic feature
[hum]	human (as semantic feature)
1st	first person
2nd	second person
3rd	third person
abl.	ablative
acc.	accusative
AcI	Accusativus cum Infinitivo
adj.	adjective
AG	adjective-genitive (order)
ALat.	Archaic Latin
AN	adjective-noun (order)
BCE	before the common era
Catal.	Catalan
CE	in the common era
Celtiber.	Celtiberian
CLat.	Classical Latin
coord.	coordinating
cop.	copula
dat.	dative
decl.	declension
deict.	deictic
det.	determiner
DG	determiner-genitive (order)
ELat.	Early Latin
Eng.	English
Fr.	French
fut.	future
Gaul.	Gaulish
gen.	genitive
Ger.	German
Gk.	Greek

GN	genitive-noun (order)
Goth.	Gothic
Heb.	Hebrew
Hitt.	Hittite
IE	Indo-European
IG	Inscriptiones Graecae
imperat.	imperative
impf.	imperfect
Ind.	Indic
indic.	indicative
infin.	infinitive
instr.	instrumental
Ir.	Irish
It.	Italian
Lat.	Latin
Lep.	Lepontic
LLat.	Late Latin
loc.	locative
Med.	Medieval
MFr.	Middle French
ModRum.	Modern Rumanian
N	noun
NA	noun-adjective (order)
NcI	Nominativus cum Infinitivo
NG	noun-genitive (order)
nom.	nominative
NP	noun phrase
num.	numeral
OFr.	Old French
OIr.	Old Irish
OIt.	Old Italian
ord.	ordinal
OSard.	Old Sardinian
Osc.	Oscan
OSp.	Old Spanish
OSV	object-subject-verb (order)

OV	object-verb (order)
OVS	object-verb-subject (order)
Paelign.	Paelignian
perf.	perfect
pers.	person
PIE	Proto-Indo-European
pl.	plural
Port.	Portuguese
PP	prepositional phrase
pred.	predication
pres.	present
pron.	pronoun
Prov.	Provencal
Rom.	Romance
Rum.	Rumanian
Russ.	Russian
Sard.	Sardinian
sg.	singular
Skt.	Sanskrit
SLat.	Silver Latin
SOV	subject-object-verb (order)
Sp.	Spanish
Spec	specifier
subj.	subject
SVO	Subject-verb-object (order)
Sw.	Swedish
Umbr.	Umbrian
V	verb
v.l./vv.ll.	*varia lectio* (alternate reading)
VO	verb-object (order)
voc.	vocative
VOS	verb-object-subject (order)
VSO	verb-subject-object (order
W.	Welsh

Special signs

::	indicates speaker switch in dialogue
←	is replaced by
<	develops from
>	develops into

Other abbreviations

*	indicates a reconstructed form (acc. to context)
*	indicates an ungrammatical sentence (acc. to context)
cod./codd.	codex
BTL	Bibliotheca Teubneriana Latina
→	onwards
ed. princ.	editio princeps
Lex XII tab.	Lex XII Tabularum
ms/mss	manuscript/manuscripts
OLD	*Oxford Latin Dictionary*
sc.	*scilicet* (that is to say)
S. C. de Bacch.	Senatus Consultum de Bacchanalibus
s.v./s.vv.	under the word/s
ThLL	*Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* (textual citations follow *ThLL* conventions)

Philip Baldi and Pierluigi Cuzzolin

Prolegomena

1. Background and methodology

With this volume (the first of three) we launch *New Perspectives on Historical Latin Syntax*.[1] This work has been underway for longer than either of us cares to remember, though looking back from the vantage point of the present, it is hard to imagine that it could have taken any less time than it has, or will by the time Volume 3 is published.

Given the number of years involved in its formation, the project's history bears recounting. *New Perspectives on Historical Latin Syntax* was conceived on an excursion bus in Spain while the two editors were attending the IX International Colloquium on Latin Linguistics in Madrid in 1997. Baldi was telling Cuzzolin about his book on the history of Latin (Baldi 2002), which was underway at the time, and was lamenting the fact that, despite his efforts to do so, Baldi had failed to provide anything but a few scattered observations on Latin historical syntax. The reason, he explained, was that the book was situated squarely in the Neogrammarian/structuralist tradition as it laid out the facts of phonological and morphological change from Proto-Indo-European (PIE) to Latin, and that syntax simply didn't lend itself to the same sort of account. There existed no complete account of PIE syntax from which Latin could be revealingly derived, as was the case for phonology and mor-

1. The work was originally announced as *The New Historical Syntax of Latin*, and was projected to contain chapters on "Non-finite subordination", "Negation", "Apposition", "Requests and commands", and "Voice". Unfortunately, the authors of these chapters failed to produce the work they had promised, and by the time their inaction became fully apparent to the editors, it was too late for us to recruit new contributors. We deeply regret the absence of these chapters, whose subject matter is so central to the history and structure of Latin. So a less inclusive title was developed which reflected the actual contents, and which also conveyed the novelty of our approach; hence, *New Perspectives on Historical Latin Syntax*.

phology. So short of reconstructing PIE syntax first, then handling the Latin facts accordingly, the prospects for providing an account of historical Latin syntax seemed well beyond the scope of Baldi's book, and outside the parameters of traditional approaches to linguistic change.

Cuzzolin agreed with Baldi's methodological assessment, but rather than concede the hopelessness of the situation, he suggested a three-pronged strategy, proposing a new historical syntax of Latin that would fill the need which Baldi's book (and others before it) failed to provide. The first part of the strategy involved a cooperative effort between the two, as joint coordinators of the proposed enterprise. Thus began a collaboration that has stretched far beyond this project, and promises to continue into the future. The second part involved the recognition that a subject as vast as the evolution of Latin syntax, from its PIE beginnings up to the Early Middle Ages, was a task beyond the capacity, and the capability, which we together brought to the table. A team of specialists would be required to do the job. Finally, there was the crucial matter of framework. We both recognized the inadequacies of structure-based approaches to syntactic change, especially for an account on the scale which we imagined would be required to write an explanatory historical syntax. We saw traditional grammar as insightful, but not sophisticated enough to reveal the sorts of generalizations that linguists are bound to provide. Various instantiations of generative grammar were discussed, but the general inadequacy of this model in dealing with the syntax of extinct languages, and in providing a general framework for diachronic explanation, loomed large. So we abandoned this approach as a possibility, acknowledging further that neither of us was fluent enough in the theory, and also that the pool of potential contributors from this tradition was vanishingly small. A different approach would be required, one that incorporated structural and functional information into the explanatory formula, one that handled diachronic phenomena, and one in which we felt comfortable. This holistic framework is called the "functional-typological" approach, about which we will have more to say below.

The project percolated until 1999, when we introduced it to our peers at the X International Congress of Latin Linguistics in Paris (published as Baldi and Cuzzolin 2001). By this time we had prepared a provisional Table of Contents and had secured some funding from the U.S. National Science Foundation to explore the framework as it applied to our own subjects, namely possession (Baldi) and comparison (Cuzzolin). The team was also

beginning to take shape, which was no small accomplishment given the number of scholars worldwide who met all the criteria, namely to be: a Latinist, a linguist, sympathetic to and versed in the functional-typological approach, interested in diachrony, and willing to work on the project. Settling the roster of collaborators was the most difficult part, not only because the pool is so restricted, but also because of the parameters of the assignment and because the normal ebb and flow of academic commitment eliminated many fine scholars. A representative set of team members assembled at the University of Bergamo in June of 2000, when the basic intellectual and structural guidelines of the project were discussed and agreed upon by the group. It was around this time that members started working on their chapters. The group met again for a three-day conference at the Rockefeller Foundation Villa in Bellagio in September 2001, where an intense vetting of each contribution was performed by the group on every presentation. This was followed by a mini-conference at the University of Bologna in June 2003, when semi-final drafts were presented and critiqued. Deadlines were set, and reset, several times, and by June 2005 we had many of the chapters, much expanded and hugely improved, available for the editing process. By this time we realized, with the agreement of the editorial staff of Mouton de Gruyter, that three volumes would be necessary, largely because of the considerable excess over the original page limit on the part of nearly every contributor. Volumes 2 and 3 are underway as this is being written, and we anticipate their timely appearance.

2. Historical syntax and Latin

The term "history of Latin" (or of any other ancient IE language) in its most widespread usage means "history of phonology and morphology" as they have developed from PIE. Comparative grammars of Latin (e.g., Leumann 1977; Sommer & Pfister [Sommer 1977]; Meillet & Vendryes 1979; Sihler 1995; Baldi 2002) have concentrated primarily on the development of the phonological and morphological systems of the language, with comparatively little attention paid to historical syntax. This emphasis is reflective of the Indo-European tradition in which the aforementioned works were executed. The few existing historical syntaxes of Latin are also methodologically

located well within the mainstream of Indo-European linguistics, with an emphasis of structure over function. In this category are the volumes of Draeger (1878–1881) and Scherer (1975), as well as the more synchronically-oriented grammars of Kühner & Stegmann (1912–1914), Hofmann & Szantyr (1965), Woodcock (1959), and Ernout & Thomas (1964).

The most dramatic scientific accomplishments of the past two hundred years have been in the areas of historical phonology, morphology, and lexicon, resulting in numerous handbooks, encyclopedias, and etymological dictionaries of Indo-European and its descendants. However, comparatively less progress has been made in the reconstruction of an agreed-upon set of syntactic structures which characterize the protolanguage, and the corresponding principles which govern the syntactic evolution of the daughter languages. The most recent outlines of PIE, by Beekes (1995), Szemerényi (1996), and Meier-Brügger (2003), contain no treatment of syntax, though Fortson (2004) is a qualified exception. And despite the ongoing progress and promise of the approach to PIE syntax based primarily on word order typology in the massive research program initiated by W. P. Lehmann (e.g., 1974, 1993), a complete explanatory syntax of PIE is yet to be developed. Furthermore, historical syntax as a field continues to lag behind phonology and morphology methodologically, so that explanatory diachronic principles which are not bound to particular synchronic formalist theories have yet to be developed. The result: historical linguistics has failed to provide a comprehensive method with the power to explain large-scale syntactic developments in the long-term history of a language. This is not to suggest that diachronic syntactic analyses do not exist (cf., for example, the work of Harris and Campbell [1995]; Lightfoot [e.g., 1999]; Miller [2002]; Kiparsky [e.g., Condoravi and Kiparsky 2001]; Hopper and Traugott [2003]). These approaches provide accounts of particular syntactic developments in specific languages, or of specific diachronic phenomena resulting from grammaticalization. What we are attempting to do in this historical syntax is to develop a methodology, which includes grammaticalization phenomena, around which the *entire* syntactic history of a language can be written.

The general omission of syntax from the study of the history of Latin is a consequence of many factors. Chief among these are the aforementioned lack of a detailed explanatory syntax of PIE, and the dominantly structuralist/formalist approach which typifies Neogrammarian and post-Neogrammar-

ian thinking, with its primary focus on the rules governing the regular development of the phonological and morphological systems of the IE languages from PIE. Such rules and processes are less obvious in the development of the syntactic system, and there is no verified methodological principle to guide the way in the study of syntactic change. For example, the regularity principle of exceptionless sound change provides a strict methodological guideline in the description of phonological, and to a lesser extent, morphological change. For syntax, no such principle exists, so that there is no methodologically consistent means to map syntactic structures from reconstructed PIE to the actually occurring daughter languages. Typological and grammatical reorganizations are often so extreme between PIE and its descendant systems that structural mappings of the type familiar from phonology and morphology, namely “X > Y/Z”, are often difficult to identify.

The traditional strategy according to which the historical description of the syntax of Latin and other early IE languages has been executed is one of evaluating data structurally, just as in phonology and morphology. An unspoken principle of explanation is the chronological order in which structures are attested, or their marginality in the system. Thus, the older or more marginal a structure is, the more it is privileged in historical analysis. Deeper and more integrated linguistic explanations, when they are attempted, are provided in piecemeal fashion without full consideration of the overall picture of the syntactic development of Latin from PIE, or of syntactic changes which have taken place within the historical period of Latin itself. Such isolated explanations are particularly prominent in generative and post-generative analyses of syntactic change, which attend to a relatively small number of structural types and deal with their development in terms of pre-established (synchronic) formal considerations. Furthermore, little attention has been paid to the discourse levels represented in ancient texts, and to the different types of syntactic phenomena that different textual genres can reveal within a language. This is a particularly serious problem in formalist approaches to syntactic change, which generally have underdeveloped mechanisms for dealing with syntactic variation by text type, since such variation frequently involves discourse-level and pragmatic considerations.

3. The functional-typological approach

Because of the failure of traditional structuralist and current formalist approaches to provide a coherent method for the study of large-scale, system-wide syntactic change, and with it the failure to provide the means to study the syntactic evolution of ancient languages like Latin in their historical entirety, it seems clear that a new approach is necessary. The approach we have tried to develop in this work is a holistic one, in which structural considerations of the traditional type are combined in a complementary and balanced way with functional and typological principles. The functional-typological perspective provides a powerful alternative to the strict structural models of the nineteenth century and their later formalist descendants. Of course, the perspective adopted in this historical syntax is that the functional/typological approach and the formal one are not incompatible (see Newmeyer 2003, with ensuing debate). In addition, even though typological descriptions of single languages are becoming more common in the literature, typology by definition is ideally based on a rich sample of genetically unrelated languages. How then are we to profit from a typology based on a single language? One claim underlying our approach is that the vertical or diachronic dimension of a language provides a typological equivalent to the horizontal or synchronic comparison of genetically unrelated languages. For example, in its history from Proto-Indo-European, Latin shifts from a "be" language to a "have" language as regards its basic expression of predicative possession. That is, it shifts from the *mihi est liber* type of expression ("A book is to me") to the *habeo librum* type ("I have a book"). This diachronic shift is in complete compatibility with the typology of possession developed through the study of unrelated languages synchronically, namely a distinction between "be" and "have" expressions, conforming right down to the type of "be" language that it was originally (the locative type) to the etymological source of the "have" verb (from "seize, grasp") (see Baldi and Nuti, this work, vol. 2).

Another basic concept underlying a functional-typological grammar is that cognitive principles are involved in grammatical organization, and that these principles are relevant to the description and history of a language. In this methodology, the relevant facts include typological variation for a particular construction and the semantic and pragmatic function of that construction in each language. In a formalist methodology, on the other hand, the

facts consist of a variety of constructions, within a single language or across languages, that display the same, or almost the same, domains of application (Croft 1991: 17). Given the often considerable changes that have taken place between the ancestral PIE stage and the actually occurring daughter languages, or between Archaic Latin and Late Latin, it is clear that such constructions as may be present in one stage may be wholly absent in another, or vice versa, with the result that some potentially important fact of grammatical history may be missed.

For example, PIE quite clearly had a mood (the optative) whose primary independent function was to express some wished-for or desired outcome on the part of the speaker. Latin gave up the optative mood in the pre-literary period, and collapsed it functionally with the subjunctive, the common thread between the two moods being that both express some *irrealis* condition (a few morphological traces of the optative survive). In traditional structure-based approaches to historical syntax, this is the extent of the explanation. However, a functional-typological perspective is concerned not with "*what* happened to the optative as it developed from PIE into Latin", but rather "*how* did PIE express the notion of 'desired outcome', and *how* does Latin express the same notion"? Latin, having given up the optative mood, innovates in exploiting a dominantly lexical expression of "desired outcome", namely *utinam* 'would that' and through the use of verbs like *sperare* and *velle*, both meaning 'wish', but originally meaning 'thrive, prosper' and 'want, choose', respectively.

Such structural asymmetries can be seen from the perspective of the descendant as well as that of the parent. As an example of a syntactic construction for which there is no apparent Latin antecedent, we note that in French there is an aspectual construction which expresses recency, marked by the verb *venir* 'to come' accompanied by an infinitive and the preposition *de* (*Il vient de voir Marie* 'He just saw Marie'). This construction has no direct structural ancestor in Latin (**venit de videre Mariam*). Its origins involve functional and semantic changes in the verb, changes in the function of prepositions, and changes in the grammatical function of infinitives, all to create a novel means of expressing verbal aspect. No simple structural conversion can tell the story.

In the functional-typological approach, historical syntactic phenomena are analyzed according to a continuum, along which parameters relevant to

syntactic description are located. This continuum of possible expressions of a given feature or category is deduced from the typological study of the world's languages. Such a study is designed to reveal patterns of expression of particular concepts, and to allow the formation of universal generalizations according to which data in individual languages can be evaluated. It is presupposed that all linguistic phenomena, including syntactic ones, can be arranged on a scale from the maximal form of expression (e.g., lexical) through intermediate stages (e.g., syntactic or morphological) to the minimal form of expression (e.g., phonological). Relevant to the conception of grammatical scale is the notion of the implicational universal: when changes take place they are assumed to have occurred along the continuum in a non-arbitrary order. For example, in our survey of possession, we found no examples of "have" languages becoming "be" languages, only the other way around (e.g., Yucatec Maya, various Indo-European languages). The change is based on a complex network of lexical ("seize" > "hold" > "have, possess"), pragmatic ("location in" is roughly equivalent to "have"), and typological parameters (e.g., increasing subjectivity as in *John has a book* vs. *A book is at John*).

One of the basic assumptions of this approach is that some semantic notions are pervasively encoded in syntax. This implies that several apparently unrelated phenomena may be well accounted for by the presence or absence of a particular feature. In other words, if a given feature begins to be encoded in a syntactic construction, or, conversely, stops being encoded syntactically, this change provides the trigger for a series of other changes. We can think of this systematic triggering of related changes affecting different grammatical categories as a network. In the example of the optative mood cited above, there seem to be two factors which contributed to the loss of this mood. On the formal side, it seems that the use of the optative in subordinate clauses introduced by conjunctions brought about a syntactic rather than a semantic regulation of the category in late PIE and derivatively in preliterary Latin. In such a syntactic regulation, rules of sequencing are dictated by purely grammatical conditions (W. P. Lehmann 1993: 182–183), partially depriving the optative mood of its independent function of marking wished-for outcome. On the functional side, it may be that the same change which is acknowledged to have brought about the loss of the productive middle voice in Latin and some other early IE languages, namely a rise in transitivity as late PIE changed from an active language to a nominative-accusative one, also played

a part in bringing about the loss of the optative mood in Latin. This is because the notion of wished-for or desired outcome which characterizes the basic meaning of the optative necessarily involves some beneficiary or experiencer role for the subject, as does the middle voice. As Latin moved away from middle expressions and more in the direction of expressions encoding strong transitivity and agency (with active verbs plus reflexive pronouns in place of the middle voice), the expression of the notion "wished-for outcome" shifted from the morphologically expressed optative mood to independent lexical forms such as *sperare* and *velle*. Furthermore, we see that the same network of changes involving a rise in agent-oriented expressions can also explain the loss of impersonal constructions such as *pudet* 'it shames', *paenitet* 'it repents', and *miseret* 'it moves to pity' from Latin to the Romance languages (cf. Bauer 2000).

4. The diachronic dimension

When we speak of Latin, we are properly speaking about a system that includes a number of dialects which can be classified as comprising a single linguistic category. Of these dialects, "Classical Latin" is surely the best attested because it is the vehicle of classical literature. Far less represented in the record are those spoken dialects of the Latin diasystem which underlie the Romance languages. It is not out of the question, though it is impossible to prove, that all of the dialects of Latin can be traced back to a single homogeneous variant, perhaps going back to the beginnings of the first millennium BCE.

Written standardized Latin, the classical language, was accessible to a fairly small segment of the population of ancient Rome. Only a few, most of them men, were sufficiently trained and educated to master the classical variant, which over time diverged more and more from the spoken dialects. And of course there were many regional and social varieties of spoken Latin, not only around Rome itself, but also in the reaches of the Romania, from Dacia to Sicily to the Iberian Peninsula. The real history of Latin then is one which is represented in the continuously evolving spoken dialects. Written, Classical Latin is not the direct ancestor of any particular Romance language or dialect. Our challenge is to discern the essential features which link all the

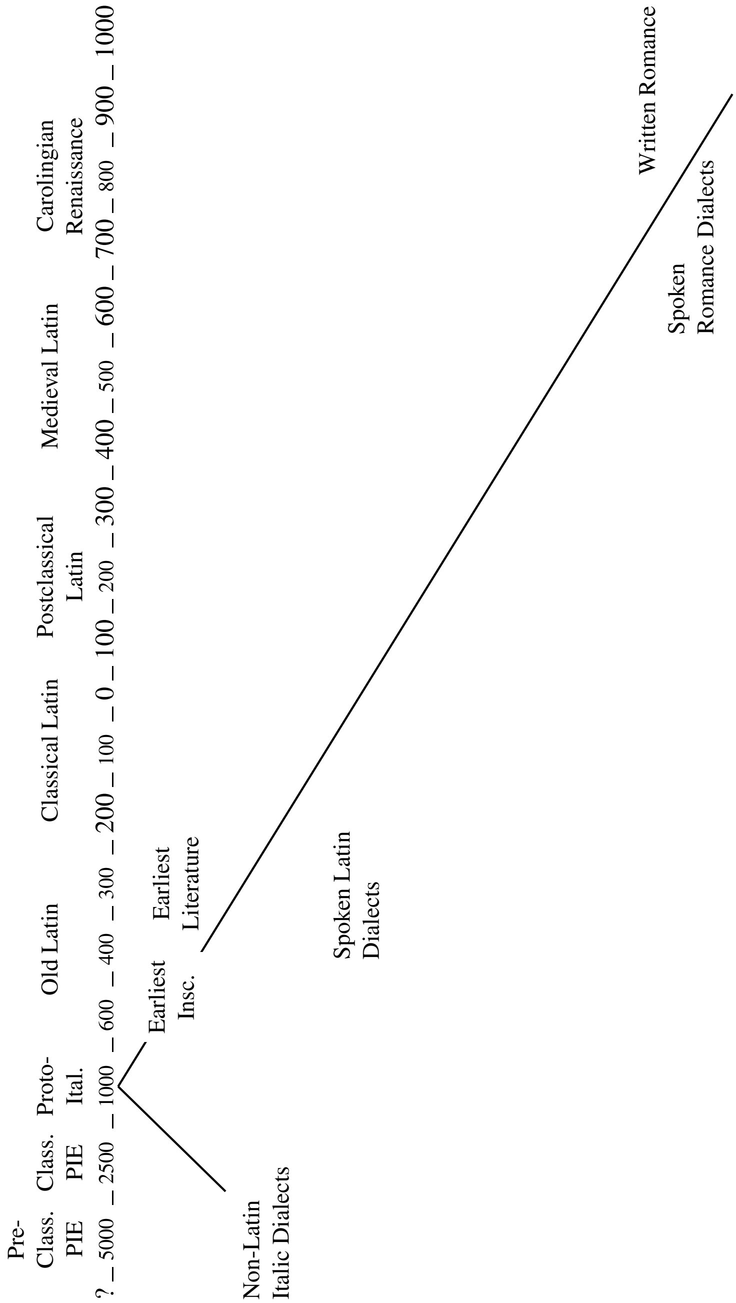


Figure 1. The diachrony of Latin (after Pulgram 1978)

varieties of Latin together, including the classical dialect, into a uniform and explanatory historical account.

The diachrony of Latin can be approached in two complementary ways. These are the retrospective and prospective dimensions of this or any language. Because of its place in the Indo-European family of languages, Latin has long enjoyed a special place in historical linguistic circles. With its rich inscriptional corpus and deep chronology stemming from the sixth century BCE, Latin is among the crown jewels of Indo-European linguistics. It has a well-deserved reputation for archaism in many areas of the system, and rarely fails to make an appearance in the effort to reconstruct PIE at any level: phonology, morphology, syntax, or lexicon.

The early inscriptional monuments of Latin, from the sixth century BCE, offer a trove of materials which are also useful in our consideration of Latin as a language in its own right, not just as a cog in the Indo-European wheel. Inscriptions are full of archaisms of course, not only of the conventional phonological, lexical, and morphological type, but in syntax as well, such as the use of *nē* in negative imperatives, rare in Classical Latin, but common in inscriptions, such as Duenos and Garigliano (Baldi 2002: 197–202).

Latin thus allows us an opportunity to study a linguistic system which, if we combine what we know about PIE, covers a continuous span of perhaps 5,000 years of linguistic evolution. If we consider Latin only from the perspective of Proto-Italic, we are dealing with perhaps as much as 3,000 years. If we consider Latin from its earliest verified monuments, we have 2,400 years of continuous linguistic evolution up to the Romance present. But if we consider Latin as Latin alone, which is our primary task in these pages, we are in a position to assess the evolution of a linguistic system for about 1,200 years; for it is this time span which is covered by the period from the earliest inscriptions right up until the breakup of the system into what we might call Proto-Romance, that is, the 1,200 years from the first inscription to Gregory of Tours.

In addition to its novel methodology and its emphasis on diachrony, *New Perspectives on Historical Latin Syntax* has several other distinguishing characteristics. One is its attempt at UNIFORMITY: unlike many other multiply-authored works of this type, this one is characterized by a methodology and conceptual framework which has been developed in consultation with all contributors. Of course not all authors have followed the methodological desider-

ata as strictly as one might hope, owing not only to individual differences and emphases among scholars, but also because of the varying nature of the subject matter. Some topics, for example numerals, lend themselves better to a structurally-oriented account, while others, such as modality or deixis, lean in the other direction. This is why we insist that the approach be HOLISTIC, incorporating both structure and function in revealing ways. Still another distinctive feature of the *Syntax* is the extremely long time span that it covers, from PIE to Late Latin. While this time span is more easily accommodated for some topics (e.g., possession) than others, it is a perspective which informs every chapter. For example, the syntax (and pragmatics) of possession can be traced from its PIE beginnings as a locative-possessive with the verb 'to be', through the addition of a verb 'to have' and the eventual elimination of the 'to be' construction by the time of Late Latin, and on into the Romance period. For other topics (e.g., adverbs), it is somewhat more difficult to speculate on the PIE situation, so the emphasis is on the history of the category and its syntax within Latin itself. The essential point, however, is that there is an implicit diachrony in every chapter; what varies are the beginning and end-points of the investigation.

Finally, and in some ways most importantly, *New Perspectives on Historical Latin Syntax* is distinctive because it is TEXT-BASED. Team members all agreed that it would not be sufficient to mine the standard grammars like, for example, Bennett (1910–1914), Hofmann & Szantyr (1965), Kühner & Stegmann (1912–1914), because to do so would lead to a simple rehash of the *status quo*, and would deter contributors from asking new questions. Guided by the requirements of the functional-typological approach and the necessity for textually-based analyses, authors of individual chapters have entered much new territory. As a way of assuring maximal access to textual material, contributors have all worked with electronic databases, such as the *Bibliotheca Teubneriana Latina* (*BTL*) and the Packard Humanities Institute CD-ROM, and have generally relied on the best paper editions available for Latin authors, usually either the Teubner or Oxford texts.

5. Audience

New Perspectives on Historical Latin Syntax is intended for several audiences. The first of these is the community of linguists, specifically historical linguists, who may be interested in the strategies we have applied in assessing the historical syntax in a corpus language with such a rich and deep textual and intellectual tradition as Latin. For this audience we have attempted to make the material as accessible as possible, especially by including English translations for every numbered example which occurs in each chapter. Our second target is Classicists, especially Latinists, who are interested in the syntax and semantics of Latin poetic and prose texts. This group will find the linguistic terminology used in the volume, and the mode of argumentation, generally "user-friendly", and should be pleased to discover that they can follow the arguments, despite not being professional linguists. The third group is the community of Indo-Europeanists, who have an abiding interest in the syntactic history of a principal Indo-European language, and whose concerns for the syntax of the protolanguage will be directly addressed by the contents and approach of this volume.

6. Volume 1

The first volume of *New Perspectives on Historical Latin Syntax* contains eight chapters, this being the first. The second is a chapter by P. Cuzzolin and G. Haverling on "Syntax, sociolinguistics, and literary genres". This chapter offers a concise history of Latin literature and genres in a modern sociolinguistic perspective. By tracing a variety of documents and text types from Archaic Latin all the way up to Late Latin, some 1,200 years, Cuzzolin and Haverling show how different textual genres can make a special contribution to our understanding of syntactic change in Latin through a sociolinguistic lens which includes reference to diatopic, diamesic, diastratic, and diaphasic parameters.

There are two chapters dealing with contact phenomena, one on Greek entitled "Latin syntax and Greek" by G. Calboli; the other on "Semitic influence in the history of Latin syntax" by G. Rubio. Both chapters are wholly descriptive and are not formulated in terms of any specific theoretical frame-

work, due to the nature of the subject matter. We originally envisioned a much larger section than this one, with a chapter on the non-Latin Italic dialects (Sabellic) and Etruscan influences, and one on Celtic, but the results were so meager as to be irrelevant.

In his chapter on Greek, Calboli addresses the time-honored question: How extensive was Greek influence on Latin syntax? He approaches the topic from a variety of viewpoints, including the temporal, the geographical, and those of literary genre and individual author. Calboli concludes that although there are numerous effects on Latin grammar that can be traced to Greek in such areas as complementation, participle usage, and case selection, the "core grammar" of Latin remained unaffected for the most part, making "Graecism" a literary artifact without permanent structural effects which survived into the Romance languages.

In his chapter, Rubio analyzes the Semitic influence in the history of Latin syntax. Such an influence belongs, for the most part, to the realm of "translationese", rather than to an actual language contact setting. Thus, although this chapter opens with an overview of the Semitic-speaking communities in the Roman Empire, the focus is placed primarily on the Latin of both the *Vetus Latina* and the *Vulgate*. Moreover, Rubio explores the difference between quantitative and qualitative Semitisms: the latter are exclusive to Biblical and Christian Latin, whereas the former do have precedents in the Classical language.

The remaining chapters of volume 1 cover a number of syntactic phenomena in the history of Latin syntax whose analysis demands frequent reference to discourse-pragmatic level phenomena that typically lie outside the domain of syntax proper. The first of these, "Word order" by Brigitte Bauer, analyzes word order patterns in Latin from various perspectives, diachronic as well as synchronic, including structural, functional, and prosodic aspects. Bauer discusses word order typology in general, word order change, and word order in Proto-Indo-European and its subsequent development in Latin, focusing on the syntactic load of word order, processes involved in information structure, and prosodic motivation. She also assesses which word order patterns in Latin were inherited and to what extent innovations anticipate the subsequent structures in Romance.

In "Coherence, sentence modification, and sentence-part modification – the contribution of particles", Hannah Rosén provides an extensive treatment

of the role played by particles in the syntax and pragmatics of Latin. Rosén surveys the inventory of particles, their multiple origins, and the evolving patterns of uses from Early to Late Latin as evidenced by a variety of texts and text types. She assesses their role in textual organization, discourse organization, communication management, and other pragmatic functions such as focus-marking. She also confronts certain crosslinguistic facts, assessing the Latin particles in typological contrast with other IE languages.

In her chapter on "Coordination" Esperanza Torrego deals with the coordination of sentences and constituents smaller than sentences in Latin. Taking coordination as a recursion device, Torrego treats the linking of nominals, adjectives, predicates, clauses, and whole sentences. Starting from the distinction which holds among copulative, disjunctive, and adversative conjunction types, Torrego traces the syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic dimensions of coordination, delimiting their domains and exploring their patterns with various connectors from the Early Latin period up to Romance.

With their chapter "Questions and answers" Paul Brown, Brian Joseph and Rex Wallace provide the first full-scale treatment of a typically pragmatic phenomenon in terms of its syntactic peculiarities and distributional properties. They analyze features of interrogation and response both in terms of structural cues (for instance, question particles) and conversational features characteristic of different genres in the history of Latin. Particularly innovative is their analysis of parallel phenomena in Sabellian texts.

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Pierluigi Cuzzolin and Gerd Haverling

Syntax, sociolinguistics, and literary genres

1. Introduction

The aim of the present chapter is to present a typology of the written documents which form the basis for our description of Latin in Antiquity. While the specialist will find various points that are essential to the analysis and evaluation of specific sociolinguistic issues as they are investigated in this volume, the non-specialist reader will find a broad overview of the entire problem area.[1]

This brief description mainly focuses on the texts which are of particular importance from the point of view of the history of syntax, from the earliest documents from around 600 BCE to around 600 CE. The terms traditionally used to label the different stages in the history of Latin are listed in Table 1.[2]

Traditionally, both literary (in a broad sense) and historical criteria are used to determine the borderlines between the different periods of Latin language and literature. The earliest Latin literature of which we have traces is from around 240 BCE, and therefore the Early Latin period starts around that year. In the decade between 90 and 80 BCE the Social War ended (88 BCE), which meant that all free men in Italy south of the Rubicon became Roman citizens, with dramatic sociolinguistic consequences,[3] and a young M. Tullius Cicero, the author whose Latin style was to become a standard for all later generations, started his political and literary career.[4] In the year 14 CE

1. For a more detailed introduction to Latin and its literary and cultural tradition, we refer to Janson (2004); relatively recent overviews of Roman literature are found in Conte (1994) and von Albrecht (1997).
2. See, e.g., Palmer (1961: 54–205) and Hofmann & Szantyr (1965: 39–46); cf. Baldi (2002: 125 f., 196 ff., 241) and Conte (1994: 8, 13 ff., 133 ff., 249 ff., 401 ff., 593 ff.).
3. See, e.g., Le Glay et al. (2001: 105 ff.). For a discussion of the impact of dramatic sociological and political events on the development of languages, see Mioni (2000).
4. See, e.g., Conte (1994: 175 ff.).

Table 1. The periods of the Latin language

Archaic Latin	7th century BCE – ca. 240 BCE
Early Latin	ca. 240 BCE – ca. 90 BCE
Classical Latin (“Golden Age Latin”)	ca. 90 BCE – 14 CE
Postclassical Latin (“Silver Latin”)	14 CE – ca. 200 CE
Late Latin	ca. 200 CE – ca. 600 CE

Rome’s first emperor, Augustus, died. In the years between the death of the emperor Marcus Aurelius in 180 CE and the murder of the young emperor Alexander Severus in 235 CE, the Roman Empire underwent some very fundamental changes due to the growing pressure on its borders and to the growing difficulties of keeping the vast political unit together.[5] In the same period we have the first Christian authors writing in Latin, and around this time we can also observe some important changes in the system of Latin syntax (cf. Section 3.5 below).[6] Roman literature and culture survives for some generations after the political collapse of the Western Roman Empire (476 CE), but around 600 CE the Latin-speaking, previously Roman provinces are increasingly isolated from each other at the same time as the Roman school system practically ceases to exist.[7]

The division of the history of a language into different periods implies that we have a rather clear picture of what language we are dealing with. At two points in the history of Latin we are not quite sure of this: the exact moments in which Latin is born and in which it is transformed into Romance are not easily determined. The problem is to determine what is Latin and what is not: unfortunately there is no overall agreement on whether all of the early inscriptions considered to provide us with early examples of Latin actually do that, and there are similar problems in determining whether some

5. See, e.g., Le Glay et al. (2001: 292, 294 ff., 339 ff.).
6. See, e.g., Cuzzolin (1994: 184–187, 300) and Haverling (2000: 459); cf. E. Löfstedt (1959: 1 ff.).
7. See, e.g., Le Glay et al. (2001: 486) and Le Goff (1990: 3 ff., 19 ff., 23 ff. [esp. 32]); cf. Conte (1994: 713 ff.). The *Thesaurus linguae Latinae* (*ThLL*) does not deal with texts written much later than 600 CE.

syntactic features encountered in the texts from the last centuries represent a late development of Latin or the beginning of Romance.[8]

The Latin texts from Antiquity which we possess have been transmitted to us in a number of different ways: we have contemporary inscriptions and graffiti, literary and other texts which have been transmitted by manuscript traditions, and comments on language and quotations of forms of language in later authors or otherwise written down at a much later stage (e.g., the *Carmen Arvale* discussed in Section 3.1). These very different sources reflect in various manners the sociolinguistic stratification and the development of Latin syntax.

The written material on which our knowledge of Latin as a living language in Antiquity is based can thus be divided into two main categories: (1) documents mainly consisting of inscriptions on various kinds of material, contemporary with their composition, for which we propose the label "contemporary documents", and (2) texts transmitted through several generations of scribes whose own linguistic systems differed considerably from that of the texts they were copying, for which we propose the label "replica documents".

In the following, we briefly present the kind of documentation that we possess. We also have to discuss the varying standards for the written languages met with in documents of different kinds from different periods.

1.1 The "contemporary documents"

The "contemporary documents" consist of texts written on stone, clay, metal, wood, and papyrus: on stone and metal we have official and religious inscriptions as well as funerary inscriptions, which tend to be rather stereotypical throughout the centuries. However, on stone and clay we also have the highly informal graffiti from Pompeii, and on metal we also have some rather informal curses that private persons directed towards their enemies. On papyrus and wood we often have more private documents, such as letters.

8. For a discussion on the rise of Latin, see, e.g., Baldi (2002: 28 f., 125 f., 196 ff.) and for a discussion on the transition from Latin to Romance see, e.g., Wright (1982, 1991, 2002) and Banniard (1992).

The earliest documents in Latin are short inscriptions on stone, clay, and metal from the late seventh to the fifth centuries BCE: there are different types, such as (1) short inscriptions where the words are imagined to be pronounced by the object itself (i.e., a pot or a bowl), and (2) official inscriptions of a religious or political character. The interpretation of these early documents is in several cases far from clear, and in some cases there is also some dispute as to whether they exemplify early stages in the development of Latin or of some of the adjacent dialects (cf. Section 3.1 below).[9]

For our knowledge of Archaic Latin, the inscriptions are of particularly great importance. The inscriptions from these earliest periods are of special relevance because they seem to reflect the language actually spoken at the time more closely than many other written documents because a standard had not yet been established. The amount of material increases in the fourth and third centuries, and from the latter part of the third century, we also have literary texts which have been transmitted by manuscripts (cf. Section 3.2 below). The number of inscriptions from the approximately eight centuries between 200 BCE and ca. 600 CE is, however, considerable.

Most of the texts inscribed on stone, clay, or metal from the earliest centuries seem to reflect the language of the period in which they were composed. This is also the case in some papyri, for instance in some private letters and similar documents portraying everyday life in Roman Egypt, or of letters written on wooden tablets in Britain in the second century CE (cf. Sections 2.2 and 3.4 below).[10]

These documents are, however, of very different value from the point of view of the development of Latin syntax. The Latin met with in official inscriptions remains relatively similar throughout the ages, but also some kinds of private inscriptions remain surprisingly stereotypical for many centuries: this is, for instance, the case of the numerous funerary inscriptions. Others are more individualistic and therefore of major relevance for a description of the development of the language: this is the case of the many graffiti preserved at Pompeii and Herculaneum, which furthermore are of importance from a sociolinguistic point of view (cf. Sections 2.2 and 3.4 below).[11]

9. See Baldi (2002: 125–126, 196–218).
10. See Baldi (2002: 237 ff., 240 f.).
11. See Baldi (2002: 235–237).

1.2 The "replica documents"

From the Archaic period, the documentation consists of inscriptions and some mostly very short quotations found in later texts. The documentation transmitted to us by manuscript tradition begins from the Early Latin period, and it grows considerably in the Classical and post-Classical periods. It should be emphasized, however, that the vast majority of the texts which we have are from the later centuries, from the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries CE.[12]

The remains of the Roman literature have been transmitted to us by a long manuscript tradition. The texts transmitted by manuscript traditions are of very different types: here we have the great works of Roman literature as well as less well-known writings on practical matters such as medicine or cooking. It should, however, be emphasized that only a small part of Roman literature has survived. It is probable that many texts from the Early and Classical periods no longer existed in Late Antiquity, and many more disappeared during the period of some 200 years, from the later part of the sixth century CE onwards, when Roman schools practically ceased to exist.[13]

Most of the Roman texts are preserved in manuscripts which are relatively recent compared to the texts themselves: only a few texts are preserved in manuscripts from Late Antiquity and most of them are found in manuscripts from the Middle Ages or the Renaissance.[14] The version of a text found in one manuscript often differs from the one found in another manuscript due to various mistakes made by the different scribes. For this reason, the Greeks in the Hellenistic period had introduced the "philological" practice of correcting such mistakes by comparing the various manuscripts with one another.[15] The great Roman Classics were all subject to such reworking in Antiquity and the later manuscript traditions which we have of these texts date back to editions which were available in Late Antiquity, when many texts previ-

12. Cf. *ThLL*.
13. See, e.g., Reynolds and Wilson (1991: 79–86), Conte (1994: xxix–xxxi), and Hagendahl (1983: 94, 101, 113 f.); cf. Le Goff (1990: 32).
14. See Reynolds and Wilson (1991: 35 f., 81 ff.).
15. See Reynolds and Wilson (1991: 5–16, 207–242).

ously preserved in fragile papyrus rolls were rewritten on more expensive but durable parchment and put together in codices.[16]

Some of the scribal mistakes are connected with changes in the language: the scribe who was reflecting on the contents of the texts may have tended to normalize the things which he did not understand. Several such problems still remain in our texts. There is, however, a huge difference between the way a text of high literary prestige was transmitted and that in which texts of less literary and cultural value were treated. The scribe who was copying, for instance, Vergil usually took great pains to copy each word in the texts as correctly as possible, whereas the person who copied a practical handbook on medicine, for example, who very well may have been a practitioner of the profession in question himself, often was less careful as regards the original wording of the text: while the former scribe saw it as his task to copy the text as accurately as possible, the latter may have been more inclined to produce his own version of the text, perhaps in order to suit a purpose which differed from that originally intended. Scribes of either type committed mistakes and some of them reflect their own language and sometimes a lack of understanding of the text, but while the former took great pains to make a truthful replica of the original, the latter felt relatively free to introduce linguistic features and terminological items of his own. Sometimes such divergences provide us with glimpses of the development of Latin, including syntax.[17]

The manuscripts that we have today are, in other words, all considerably later than the texts they preserve: the earliest manuscripts that we have are from Late Antiquity (fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries CE), but most of the Roman texts are only preserved in Medieval manuscripts. The epigraphic documentation is found in the area once belonging to the Roman Empire, whereas the later manuscript tradition was to some extent a phenomenon existing outside that area. After the fall of the Western Empire (ca. 476 CE) the interest in Latin language and literature was for some time particularly strong in Ireland, which was never part of the Roman Empire. In the Carolingian period, when the interest in Latin literature grew stronger again, men of learning from Ireland and Britain played an important role in this development.[18]

16. See Reynolds and Wilson (1991: 18 ff., 24 ff., 34 ff., 39–43); cf. Conte (1994: 632).
17. See, e.g., Haverling (2000: e.g. 55 f., 284, 306, 2003, 2005).
18. See Reynolds and Wilson (1991: 86–92, 93 ff.).

The Carolingian Renaissance around 800 CE was of great importance for the survival of the Roman Classics. Only a few texts, generally of practical interest, were copied in the seventh and early eighth centuries, but in the late eighth century there was a rebirth of interest in the "pagan" classics and many manuscripts were copied again.[19] The Carolingian Renaissance set in motion an educational system which survived and was repeatedly revived and revitalized during the following centuries, for instance during the so-called "Twelfth-Century Renaissance", which saw the birth of the universities, and during the Italian Renaissance from the fourteenth century onwards. Each such revival brought an increase in the number of available Roman texts.[20]

2. A sociolinguistic overview

We now turn to the sociolinguistic differences met with in the texts. Latin is a corpus language, that is, it is no longer anybody's native language and what we can know of it as a living language is to be traced in the written material still at our disposal. When we try to apply modern sociolinguistic methods, which have been worked out for different communities of speakers of living languages, we face several problems. One such obstacle consists of the fact that we are forced to rely on written sources, which are always subject to the influence of literacy, which means that the spoken language is in various ways filtered through the norms of the written language. This influence varies considerably from one text to another.[21]

However, some parameters of analysis which have turned out to be of use in sociolinguistic studies generally will probably help us create a better description and understanding of the linguistic situation even in the Ancient world. Three of these parameters were proposed for the first time by the Rumanian linguist Eugenio Coseriu (1970: 32–37) and a fourth was added by the Italian Alberto Mioni (2004: 314–322); these parameters, now widely

19. See Reynolds and Wilson (1991: 85 f., 92–106); for a catalogue of the extant medical texts from Late Antiquity, see Langslow (2000: 63 ff.).
20. See Reynolds and Wilson (1991: 110 ff., 122 ff.).
21. See Poccetti and Santini (1999: 173–234); cf. Baldi (2002: 227–235).

accepted, all consist of two opposite poles, between which the linguistic phenomenon being studied is to be located:[22]

(1) The diatopic parameter, concerning the variation from one part to another of the area covered by the speech community: the relevant oppositions are inside vs. outside and center vs. periphery;
(2) The diastratic parameter, concerning the variation across different social groups, or strata, in a society: the relevant opposition is high variety vs. low variety;
(3) The diaphasic parameter, concerning the variation of code and registers according to the different situations where the speakers perform: the relevant opposition is formal vs. informal;
(4) The diamesic parameter, concerning variation of the means through which the speech community communicates, namely, written vs. spoken.

Combining the different parameters, several varieties of Latin can be identified, also containing different syntactic features reflected in our texts.[23] Some of them are closer to the Latin from which the Romance languages developed. When we combine these facts with the things which the ancient authors themselves tell us we get at least a fragmentary picture of the situation.

2.1 Diatopic differences

We may safely assume that there were diatopic differences between the various villages in the Archaic period, before the establishment of a linguistic norm. Due to the scarcity of evidence, we have no possibility of creating a clear picture of the situation. Some such features, however, have been identified: for example, the dative singular in the first declension in *-a*, instead of *-ai* (later *-ae*), in Pesaro.[24]

When Rome became a political center, growing numbers of people from outside settled in the city. With this development there was probably an increasing sensitivity to the diatopic difference between Roman and non-Roman

22. Cf. Mioni (2004).
23. A first attempt to exploit the methods of modern sociolinguistics is in Molinelli (1999).
24. See Baldi (2002: 319).

linguistic features. The non-Roman features were Latin as well as non-Latin. In the later literary language there are traces which show that there was influence from other varieties of speech than those of the city itself (e.g., the word meaning 'red' in the dialect of the city itself is *ruber*, but there is also a word *rufus* representing a non-Latin phonetic development of the same Proto-Indo-European root, *$h_1 rud^h$-).[25] In the literary texts we sometimes get a few glimpses of the lower level of speech to which such words originally belonged.

Bilingualism was thus from the start an important phenomenon in the history of Latin. With the growing political power and the geographical extension of the empire, the number of people using Latin as a language of their repertoire grew (this problem is dealt with by Calboli, this volume). With this development, a growing number of people speaking, for instance, Oscan, Etruscan, or Greek moved to Rome. Later on, growing numbers of people speaking, for instance, Punic, Celtic, Aramaic, or various Germanic dialects came into contact with Latin.[26]

Classical Greek literature was from the start characterized by the presence of diatopic variation and by the use of different norms for different literary genres. Latin literature turns out to be very different in this respect: once a standard is created it is one and the same, and linguistic variation is almost always connected with the diastratic or diaphasic parameters.

The ancient authors sometimes mention features representing what we label "diatopic variation" in Latin. Often, however, this variation also contains a perhaps even stronger element of diastratic variation, as when Cicero (e.g., *de orat*. 3,44) recommends a language (pronunciation, vocabulary, etc.) like the one used by the educated elite in Rome (*urbanitas*) rather than something in use in the usually less privileged circles in the countryside (*rusticitas*). The ironic comment which the fierce literary critic Asinius Pollio made on the language in Livy's great historical work, in which he found traces of the idiom of the author's native Padua (*Patavinitas*), suggests that the Roman

25. See Baldi (2002: 125, 181–183).
26. See, e.g., Hofmann & Szantyr (1965: 31–39); for an extensive discussion of the relationship between Latin and other languages, see Adams (2003); cf. also, e.g., Biville (2002), Burton (2002), Flobert (2002), Langslow (2002), Leiwo (2002), and Swain (2002).

standards of linguistic correctness did not contain much tolerance for diatopic variation.[27]

With the enormous expansion of Rome's political power, Latin spread over a vast area. It is highly probable that diatopic differences between the different regions soon arose and scholars have looked for them in the texts. A substantial number of important Latin authors from the empire were born in Africa and in some of them we encounter similar linguistic peculiarities, which were identified as "African Latin" by Eduard Wölfflin (1874, 1882, 1889, 1902); this interpretation of the facts was, however, fiercely – and correctly – criticized by Eduard Norden (1909: 588 ff.), who observed that the features in question are of a stylistic and literary and not of a diatopic nature.

Even the search for diatopic differences in less literary Latin has been a disappointing one and in general, we have to conclude that the substandard syntactic features met with in later texts are remarkably homogeneous. Some lexical features have, however, allegedly been identified, for example in the so-called *Itinerarium Egeriae* (previously known as *Peregrinatio Aetheriae* and therefore often abbreviated *Peregr.*) and probably written in the late fourth century by a pious lady to her "sisters" at home, which seem to indicate that the author in question was from the Iberian peninsula (e.g., Lat. *plicare* or *plecare* > Sp. *llegar* 'draw near to, approach').[28] Diatopic variation seems, however, to be of little consequence for syntax in the Roman period, but acquires more importance with time.[29]

27. Asinius Pollio's remark is quoted by Quintilian (*Inst.* 1,5,56 and 8,1,3); on *urbanitas* vs. *rusticitas,* see, e.g., Poccetti (1999: 125 ff.); cf. Baldi (2002: 172).
28. E. Löfstedt (1959: 39–58) was reluctant to see such variation and in this particular case he observes (pp. 45–46) that in Byzantine Greek this verb occurs in the form πληκεύειν which indicates that the verb was used in this sense in Vulgar Latin generally and not only in the peninsula. Väänänen (1987: 153–157) was, however, more inclined to see Iberian influence in *Egeria*'s Latin and observes that several lexical features point to this. On the syntax in the inscriptions, cf. Galdi (2004).
29. See, e.g., Wright (2002: 30 ff., 87 ff.).

2.2 Diastratic differences

With the gradual emergence of a linguistic and literary norm in the Early and Classical Latin periods some linguistic forms are defined as proper whereas others are not: linguistic features now tend to be accepted or not according to a standard first developed in texts written by a few authors of high repute and later transmitted by the grammarians. In this manner, the opposition between the proper "literary" language and the – at least in a certain context – less proper "vulgar" language is created. The Latin texts which we still possess represent in different ways the various segments in this spectrum between "Literary Latin" and "Vulgar Latin": Cicero's most brilliant speeches, Tacitus's poetic and archaizing prose works on Roman history, and Vergil's epic poetry represent the most "literary" segment, whereas handbooks on practical matters such as cooking or medicine and many of the graffiti from Pompeii represent various less "literary" and more "vulgar" segments in this spectrum.[30]

The term "vulgar", frequently used in discussions of different stylistic and linguistic layers in Latin at different times, has, however, the disadvantage of often being used of linguistic elements typical of texts on technical and practical matters as well as elements which should rather be defined as "substandard". The circumstances that 1) some texts contain a kind of language which might be defined as "substandard" (i.e., what is not accepted in the norm) and 2) that the linguistic elements regarded as "substandard" differ from one period to another makes the confusion even greater.[31] A further problem connected with the term "vulgar" regards the fact that expressions like *sermo vulgaris* and *sermo plebeius* are used in the ancient texts, but in references to the diaphasic opposition and of informal language rather than of substandard language (cf. Section 2.3 below). However, despite these inconveniences, we find it difficult to do without such a well established term as "Vulgar Latin".

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30. See, e.g., Hofmann & Szantyr (1965: 46–49).
31. For instance, the construction *dico quia* is a gross vulgarism when met with in the mouth of a freedman in Petronius in the first century CE (e.g., 45,4), but merely has an informal character when met with in St. Ambrose in the late fourth century (e.g., *epist*. 57,6) (see, e.g., Haverling 2005).

One element of importance in this respect is the level of general instruction (reading abilities, etc.) in the Roman world at different periods. The diastratic variation depends to a considerable extent on the amount of education each individual has received. In the Roman educational system the emphasis on literature and rhetorical training was very strong. A few very important and well-respected authors were studied intensively and their linguistic peculiarities were copied. Four authors from the second and first centuries BCE representing as many literary genres were of particular importance in the Roman schools: Terence (representing comedy), Cicero (oratory), Sallust (historiography), and Vergil (epic poetry). For this reason, we encounter a relatively small number of syntactic changes in the literary texts from the later periods.[32] Since not everyone could afford this kind of schooling, there was a growing gap between the Latin written by the well-educated elite and that written by those who had not had this kind of training. The epigraphic material from Pompeii and Herculaneum, as well as some comments in the texts and for instance in Petronius' novel *Satyrica*, indicate that there were different levels of literacy: there were, for instance, those who could read, but who had not learned to write.[33] Especially in the numerous texts from the later periods, we can observe notable differences between those who were able to read and write, but who do not seem to have been very well trained

32. See, e.g., Conte (1994: 99 ff., 203 f., 243 f., 284 ff.); on *auctoritas* see also, e.g., Poli (1999: 380 ff.). In the fourth century CE, the grammarian Arusianus Messius published a work on correct Latin, which to a considerable extent was based on examples from these four authors, who are therefore sometimes referred to as the *Quadriga Messii* 'Messius's team of four horses' (see Conte 1994: 629).

33. Cf. Petron. 58,7: *sed lapidarias litteras scio* 'but I know the letters used in the inscriptions on stone'; on literacy and education as reflected in the epigraphic material from Pompeii, see, e.g., Étienne (1977: 340–345, 357 ff.). Very different estimations have been made of the degree of literacy in the Ancient world: some regard it as "quite extensive" already around 200 BCE (cf., e.g., Conte 1994: 15), while others have estimated that less than 10 % of the population could read or write (cf., e.g., Baldi 2002: 227) (for an overview of the discussion, see Harris [1989: 3–42]). Harris (1989: e.g., 22 ff., 331) estimates that a rather small part of the population could read and an even smaller number could write during the Roman empire, but pointing to the evidence provided by among other things the Vindolanda tablets Bowman (1991, 1994: 84 ff.) makes somewhat more optimistic assumptions in this respect. For further discussions, see Beard et al. (1991) and Bowman and Wolf (1994).

in the great literary tradition, and those who had had that literary training (cf. Section 3.5 below).

There are traces of the diastratic opposition between high and low varieties of language in Latin literature from its start and throughout the centuries. Some features occurring in the dialogues in Plautus's comedies from around 200 BCE, the earliest more substantial evidence for spoken Latin that we have, seem to represent a rather low linguistic variety.[34] In the first century BCE, we have comments regarding low level varieties in for instance Catullus (who in Catull. 84 mentions the dropping and the addition of the *h* at the beginning of words), Varro (who, e.g., in *ling*. 6,68 and 7,96 discusses archaic features still in use in the countryside) and Cicero (who, e.g., in *de orat*. 3,44 recommends the linguistic usage among the educated classes in Rome as the model for Latin rhetoric and prose); by this time the diatopic differences seem to overlap the diastratic ones.[35]

In the first century CE the amount of evidence for diastratic variation increases considerably. Of particular importance is the material provided by the numerous graffiti from Pompeii and Herculaneum, which were preserved under the ashes spread by Vesuvius in August 79 CE: it should, however, be emphasized that these graffiti represent different diastratic levels and that even some of the seemingly more "vulgar" inscriptions also contain references to literature, as for instance a line with vulgar spelling representing everyday pronunciation but written in metric verse (cf. ex. (5), Section 3.4).[36] This material is furthermore supported by Petronius' novel *Satyrica*, probably written in the latter part of Nero's reign (ca. 60 CE), where the author brilliantly portrays some of his figures by the way they speak; this attempt at describing the language used by the uneducated masses is unique in ancient literature. Other parts of the novel seem to reflect the informal register of the diaphasic parameter.[37]

34. See Baldi (2002: 228–231); for a discussion of literary and colloquial languages in Plautus, see Happ (1967).
35. See, e.g., Poccetti (1999: 137 ff.).
36. See, e.g., Väänänen (1959) and Baldi (2002: 235–237).
37. See, e.g., Petersmann (1977), Boyce (1991), and Baldi (2002: 231–235); cf. Conte (1994: 453 ff., 456).

Some private letters from the second century CE, preserved in their original form on papyrus and wood tablets, provide us with interesting evidence of spoken Latin at the time. The letters of the Roman soldier Claudius Terentianus were not written by the man himself but dictated to a scribe in the Egyptian village in which he lived: the language in these letters provide us with some rather interesting examples of syntactic development.[38] The roughly contemporary Vindolanda tablets, containing letters written by more educated people, represent a higher variety of Latin.[39]

There were diastratic differences in both the spoken and the written language. In later centuries, the gap between everyday speech and written language grew considerably. The everyday language of the educated people was probably different from the language of the uneducated masses, but those who had learned to write according to the traditional norm probably used a somewhat different kind of language in everyday conversation (cf. Section 2.4 below). One problem regarding our evidence for "Vulgar Latin" in the later period is that most of it probably represents the higher variety of that everyday language. The *Itinerarium Egeriae* from the late fourth century CE is of particular interest in this respect: it was written by a lady who had not received the training in the literary tradition typical of the great authors of the period; she was, however, a lady with considerable economic and social resources, whose language of conversation probably represented a relatively high variety of the Latin spoken at the time.[40]

2.3 Diaphasic differences

When dealing exclusively with written sources it is difficult, but not entirely impossible, to identify some diatopic and diastratic variation. The diaphasic opposition between formal and informal varieties poses more problems, since written sources always tend to represent a rather formal variety of language.

38. See Adams (1977); cf. Baldi (2002: 237 ff.).
39. See Bowman and Thomas (1983: esp. 72 ff.) and Bowman (1994: 91); cf. Habinek (1998/2001: 118) and Baldi (2002: 240 f.).
40. See E. Löfstedt (1911: 6–12, 1959: 44–48), Maraval (1982: 23, 51 ff.), and Väänänen (1987: 7–11, 11–14, 153–157); cf. also Haverling (2005).

Despite such difficulties it is, however, possible to define some diaphasic differences in the Latin texts that we have.[41]

The relationship between the language that the Roman authors wrote and that of their everyday conversation is an important issue. In the first century BCE, an important source of the language of everyday conversation in the educated élite in Rome is provided by Cicero's rich correspondence, which consists not only of letters written by Cicero himself, but also of letters of his correspondents who were other leading men at the time. Scholars have detected differences between Cicero's Latin in his letters and that in his more formal writings: we may therefore assume that some such features in his letters represent the informal variety, which he himself refers to as *sermo vulgaris* or *sermo plebeius*.[42] In the first century CE we get occasional glimpses of the everyday language of the educated elite in the non-conversational parts of Petronius's novel *Satyrica* and in Seneca's parodic description of the Emperor Claudius's unfortunate arrival on Mount Olympus after his death, the so-called *Apocolocyntosis*.[43]

Another important issue regards the language which was to be used in different literary genres. Somewhat different standards were established for the various branches of literature: Cicero recommended the cultivated language of everyday conversation used by the educated élite in Rome for use in a political speech or in a courtroom, and he explicitly warns against the use of poetic and archaic words in prose.[44] His younger contemporary, the historian Sallust set forth, however, in his work an archaizing and rather poetic kind of language for historical writings.[45] In the second century CE, the use of rare and archaic words became fashionable in rhetorical theory and practice.[46]

41. A classic study of such differences in Latin is Hofmann (1951).
42. For *sermo vulgaris* see, e.g., *Rhet. Her*. 4,56,69, Cic. *Ac*. 1,5, and *Planc*. 57, and for *sermo plebeius* see, e.g., Cic. *epist*. 9,21,1; cf., e.g., Poli (1999: 391). A natural kind of language was for instance recommended in the writing of letters: see, e.g., Poccetti and Santini (1999: 216 ff.).
43. See, e.g., Hofmann & Szantyr (1965: 46–47), Conte (1994: 421, 436), and Santini (1999: 338 ff.).
44. See, e.g., Cic. *de orat.* 3,49 and 3,153 and *Brut*. 68, *part. or.* 72 and *Brut*. 287; see, e.g., Conte (1994: 199 f.), Kennedy (1994: 128–158), and Santini (1999: 318 ff.).
45. See, e.g., Conte (1994: 241 f.) and Santini (1999: 328 ff.).
46. See, e.g., Conte (1994: 580 ff.), Kennedy (1994: 174, 196–199), and Santini (1999: 348 ff.).

In later centuries, the difference between spoken and written Latin grew considerably: the written form remained strongly influenced by the language in the literary classics from the Late Republic and the Early Empire, while the spoken form evolved as spoken language always does. This situation is reflected in various ways in the texts: 1) there is a growing number of non-literary texts providing us with a variety of Latin which is only partly or scarcely influenced by the literary tradition;[47] 2) among the educated authors there are differences in opinion about the attitude to take as regards the novelties in the language (some, especially Christian, writers accept some of the changes introduced since the Classical period, whereas others do not);[48] and 3) sometimes learned writers consciously adapt their language to make it clear to a less educated audience and to communicate better with ordinary people (Augustine's sermons provide us with interesting examples of this).[49]

One more factor has to be emphasized, and that is that not even the most learned authors in Late Antiquity were fully aware of all the changes which had occurred in Latin since the Classical period and were thus not able to avoid them. Literary authors in the Late Latin period are very much aware of the changes in the case system and generally avoid them in their own writing, but they did not understand all the changes in the actional and aspectual system and therefore, we find very revealing examples of these changes in all sorts of texts from the later period.[50]

Despite the difficulties in tracing features of informal – not to mention spoken – varieties in written documents, and especially in literary texts, it is thus possible to identify at least some diaphasic differences in the works written by the authors of the great masterpieces of Roman literature. We also have considerable variation which is due to different stylistic preferences. Such differences are perhaps even more conspicuous between these great literary works and texts of a less literary and more practical character.

47. See, e.g., Hofmann & Szantyr (1965: 46–49) and Conte (1994: 637 f.).
48. See, e.g., Haverling (1988: 257–261, 2005); cf. Kennedy (1994: 264 ff.).
49. One example is Augustine's use of construction after words of saying in his different works: see Hofmann & Szantyr (1965: 577); cf. Haverling (1988: 243 ff.). For an analysis of this development in Late Latin, see Cuzzolin (1994); see also Hofmann & Szantyr (1965: 44–46); cf. Kennedy (1994: 267–270).
50. See, e.g., Haverling (1988: 40 f., 140 ff., 2000: e.g. 248, 457, 459, 2005, this work, vol. 2).

A very formal literary genre which is characterized by some very peculiar linguistic features is poetry. One of the basic assumptions of this work is that syntax is more basic than style. The stylistic choices made by a poet or by a prose writer – due to meter or the kind of style involved – should be seen against this background. A competent poet does not treat language in a manner that conflicts with the grammatical and semantic rules of the language – unless he is consciously imitating strange models, for instance when a Roman poet imitates phenomena found in Greek (e.g., the *tmesis* in *conque putrescunt* in Lucretius at 3.343).[51] Style is always an artificial phenomenon, whereas syntax is not: consequently, phenomena like *conque putrescunt* are irrelevant for the history of Latin syntax. Poetry is, in other words, a somewhat awkward source for information on syntax and vocabulary due to the particular rules to which it is subject.[52]

In discussions of Vulgar Latin a recurring theme is the relationship between technical language and Vulgar Latin. This regards the state of affairs in the Classical period as well as that in later centuries. Many of the features sometimes referred to as "vulgar" do not seem to represent a substandard kind of language, but rather a kind of language usually not met with in the literary texts.[53]

It is likely that there was something that might be defined as "technical language" quite early in the history of Latin. We possess texts on practical matters from the second century BCE onwards, when Cato wrote the earliest prose work which we still have, his *De agricultura* 'On agriculture'. From the Classical and post-Classical periods we have, for instance, Vitruvius's *De architectura* 'On architecture' and Celsus's and Scribonius's works on medicine.[54] Such texts do not, however, by any means represent the same register on the formality parameter.

The more or less "technical" language met with in such texts presents us with particular problems, since "technical" language resembles the language

51. Over a century before Lucretius, Ennius experimented with *tmesis* in a similar way; on Ennius's and Lucretius's poetical style, see Santini (1999: 267–275); cf. also, e.g., Conte (1994: 81 f., 169 f., 281 ff.).
52. For discussions of Latin poetic style, see Adams and Mayer (1998).
53. For a discussion see, e.g., Langslow (2000: 1 ff.); cf. B. Löfstedt (1983).
54. See Conte (1994: 88, 387 ff.); cf. Hofmann & Szantyr (1965: 49–50).

of the literary norm in the sense that it is rather formal in character, but differs from that language in other respects. Such language has the advantage of providing the necessary exactness and efficiency to those who know the trade and the disadvantage of being less comprehensible for those who do not.[55] Literary language, on the other hand, often tends to avoid such expressions. With the establishment of a literary norm, there was thus probably a growing gap between "technical" language on the one hand and a more literary style on the other. This gap is reflected in the difference between Celsus's literary style in his work on medicine and the more technical kind of language met with in later treatises on the same subject.[56]

Celsus' work on medicine is a part of an otherwise lost major encyclopedic work. It is generally believed that he was not a physician himself, as opposed to Scribonius Largus, but rather a well-to-do gentleman with a wide range of interests and the leisure and curiosity to study different matters. He uses a relatively literary kind of language and avoids technical expressions, which were often Greek and which he often renders by rather long descriptive phrases. Scribonius Largus, on the other hand, was a professional physician, who was somewhat less restrictive in the use of technical expressions or in introducing Greek terms. The amount of technical vocabulary and borrowings from Greek grows considerably in the Late Latin treatises on medicine, where the influence of the restrictions of the literary norm grows weaker.[57]

The concept of Vulgar Latin is also of some importance for the discussion of so-called "Christian Latin", which has focused on some particular features in the Christian texts that were classified as "Christian" by some scholars and as "Late Latin" or "Vulgar" by others. Numerous new concepts were brought into the Roman world by the Christian faith and with time, the foreign expressions themselves were borrowed into the language or new Latin ones were created to express them. The new ideas also brought with them not only a political conflict with the Roman state, but also an ideological clash with the Greco-Roman cultural traditions at large. The problem is to what extent this different ideological framework influences the language of the Christian texts.

55. See Langslow (2000: 6–26).
56. See Langslow (2000: 377 ff.); cf. also Santini (1999: 250–368).
57. See Langslow (2000: 408 ff.); on technical language in veterinary treatises, see Adams (1995).

In the first part of the twentieth century, the Dutch Latinists Josef Schrijnen (1932, 1934) and Christine Mohrmann (1939, 1950–1951, 1955, 1956, 1958) found a very profound ideological influence on the language met with in the Christian texts. They were, however, opposed by, among others, the Swedish Latinists Einar Löfstedt (1959: 68 ff.) and Harald Hagendahl (1983: 10 ff., 52 ff.), who observed that many of the features regarded as "Christianisms" by the Dutch school were generally quite common in Vulgar Latin.[58]

Apart from a few lexical items, it is in fact difficult to single out linguistic elements which are exclusively Christian, especially in the domain of syntax. Some Christian writers do, however, have somewhat different attitudes towards language and style: Augustine, who was a teacher of rhetoric before he embraced the Christian faith and became a bishop, even proposed Christian models of learning as well as of language and style in his work *De doctrina Christiana* 'On Christian learning'.[59] Therefore, Christian Latin will not be regarded as a special language in this chapter.

2.4 Diamesic differences

When studying the development of Latin we have to rely entirely on written sources. Our ability to make assumptions regarding the spoken language is therefore very limited. The spoken language is, however, in various ways filtered through the norms of the written language in the texts which we possess.[60]

The features typical of the spoken language are transmitted to us in several ways, but never through a faithful representation. We find such features in literary texts, in comments made by the grammarians, in inscriptions, and in mistakes made by authors who were not perfectly trained in the literary conventions or who for some other reason chose to accept some of the elements of the Latin of their day.

58. So also, e.g., Marouzeau (1932), Fridh (1961, 1985: 37–41, 43–45), and Coleman (1987); cf. Haverling (1988: 18 ff.).
59. See, e.g., Kennedy (1994: 265–270); cf. Herman (1991: 32 ff.).
60. See Poccetti and Santini (1999: 173–234); cf. Baldi (2002: 227–235).

In the literary texts, the features of the spoken language are a part of the literary intention of an author. With time, certain elements found, for instance, in the Early Latin comedies become standard elements of the literary convention for depicting spoken Latin: when we meet the same features in texts written over 500 years later they reflect that literary convention and not the contemporary spoken form of the language.[61]

However, sometimes the later texts seem to give us glimpses of the language actually spoken at the time: it is, for instance, in the parts in which he depicts what people actually say that the sixth century historian Gregory of Tours provides us with some of the clearest pieces of evidence of the development of Latin syntax; and a few decades later, we find the first example of the new synthetic Romance future in a quotation of something that someone is supposed to have said (Fredeg. *Chron.* 2,62,15: *daras* 'you shall give').[62]

There is, thus, some evidence that seems to indicate that in Late Antiquity we have a growing situation of diglossia within the Latin-speaking community:[63] the term *diglossia* and its original definition by Ferguson (1959) has been in dispute, but there is some evidence that there was a growing gap between the language written by educated people and the everyday language actually used by the same people in daily life. This evidence consists of hypercorrection and strange uses of words and constructions which were no longer used in everyday language, but also of the fact that certain learned authors were more liberal in the use of new constructions than others, as well as of the fact that some late authors discuss the problem.[64]

There was, of course, always a gap between the language spoken by the educated and that spoken by the uneducated, but the exact nature of this gap is difficult to grasp. Our so-called "Vulgar" texts from the later period generally seem to reflect a relatively cultivated form of spoken language (e.g., the *Itinerarium Egeriae* from the late fourth century CE) rather than the substandard kind of language actually spoken by the uneducated masses.[65]

61. See, e.g., Haverling (1988: 115 ff., 260).
62. See Bonnet (1890: 690); cf. Haverling (this work, vol. 2).
63. See, e.g., Hofmann & Szantyr (1965: 44).
64. See, e.g., Haverling (2005) and Herman (1991).
65. For a lucid discussion of this problem, see Herman (1991); on school tradition and written Latin around 400 CE, see Haverling (2005).

Features typical of the spoken language thus occur in the form of mistakes or of hypercorrection in the texts. There are, of course, more such features in the texts written by people who were less well trained in the rhetorical tradition. Sometimes, however, we are faced with the problem of whether we should ascribe such features to the author of the text or to the later scribes. This conclusion is particularly tempting when the vulgar elements are rather inconsistent, as, for instance, when the same expression may occur in different forms in the same text or when they occur more often in one part of the manuscript tradition than in another. It should, however, be emphasized that two opposite tendencies may be involved here: the first is the tendency towards vulgarization of texts copied in the period when familiarity with the Classical norm seems to have been particularly weak (ca. 600 until the late eighth century), and the second is the tendency towards normalization after the Carolingian Renaissance when familiarity with the norm was better (cf. Section 3.5 below).[66]

3. A brief survey of the texts and documents in Latin in the different periods

3.1 Archaic Latin: seventh–third century BCE

3.1.1 The "contemporary" documentation

The earliest inscriptions in Latin are from the late seventh century. They are both written on drinking vessels and consist of short messages containing only a few words (1)–(2).[67]

(1) *salvetod Tita* = CLat. *salveto Tita*
'may Tita be in good health'

66. See, e.g., Coleman (1999) and Haverling (2003, 2005).
67. See Baldi (2002: 125–126); Baldi (2002: 125–126, 196–218) discusses fifteen inscriptions which exemplify the earliest stages of Latin; cf. also Vine (1992). We consider the *Fibula Praenestina* a brilliant forgery: see Guarducci (1980) and Mancini (2004).

(2) *eco urna Tita Vendias. Mamar⟨cosm⟩ed vhe⟨ced⟩* = CLat. *ego (sum) urna Titae Vendiae. Mamarcus me fecit*
'I am the urn of Tita Vendia. Mamarcus made me'

From the sixth century we have two somewhat longer inscriptions, the *Duenos* inscription, which is found on a bowl and in which we recognize archaic features such as, for instance, the postposition in the expression *ted endo* (= CLat. *in te* 'toward you'), and the inscription on the Roman Forum cippus. Both of them are, however, of unclear interpretation.[68] The other sixth century inscriptions, the Castor and Pollux dedication and the *Lapis Satricanus*, are both very short and found on stone. The *Lapis Satricanus*, with its apparent genitive in *-osio* (*Popliosio Valesiosio* = CLat. *Publii Valerii* 'of Publius Valerius') is quoted as an example of Archaic Latin in several handbooks, but considered to represent another dialect (usually Faliscan) by several scholars.[69] From the fifth century we have another short inscription, this time on a bowl found in the vicinity of the river Garigliano between Lazio and Campania, which provides us with an example of the form *esom* (= CLat. *sum*) in the sense 'I am', previously only known to us from a statement made by Varro (*ling*. 9,100: *sum quod nunc dicitur olim dicebatur esum* '*sum* which we now say once used to be *esum*').[70]

From the third century BCE we finally have inscriptions which provide us with some more information as regards syntax, the epitaphs from the Scipionic sarcophagi. By this time there is no difficulty determining whether we are dealing with a text in Latin or not. These epitaphs show, however, that in this period the rules regarding spelling and syntax which characterize written Latin from the following centuries had not yet been established; this is exemplified for instance by the dropping of the final *-m* in the accusative and in the genitive plural in an inscription celebrating a man who was consul in the year 259 BCE (3):[71]

68. See Baldi (2002: 197–200, 202–204).
69. See Baldi (2002: 196–197, 204–206); on the *Lapis Satricanus*, see Lucchesi and Magni (2002).
70. See Baldi (2002: 200–202); for a discussion see, e.g., Vine (1998).
71. See, e.g., Warmington (1940: 4–5); cf. Baldi (2002: 206).

(3) *CIL* I,8,9: *L. Cornelio L.f. Scipio aidiles cosol cesor. Honc oino ploirume cosentiont Romai duonoro optumo fuise viro, Luciom Scipione. Filios Barbati, Consol, censor, aidilis hic fuet apud vos. Hec cepit Corsica Aleriaque urbe, dedeto Tempestatebus aide meretod* = CLat. *L. Cornelius L. f. Scipio aedilis, consul censor. Hunc unum plurimi consentiunt Romae bonorum optimum fuisse virorum Lucium Scipionem. Filius Barbati consul aedilis hic fuit apud vos. Hic cepit Corsicam Aleriamque urbem. Dedit Tempestatibus aedem merito*
'Lucius Cornelius Scipio, son of Lucius, aedile, consul, censor. This man Lucius Scipio, as most agree, was the very best of all good men at Rome. A son of Longbeard, he was aedile, consul, and censor among you; he it was who captured Corsica, Aleria too, a city. To the Goddesses of Weather he gave deservedly a temple'

In the later spelling system, the ending *-m* is restored, but the fact that it was dropped in this inscription indicates that two case forms, the ablative and the accusative, were very similar in the spoken language. This is furthermore indicated by the fact that final *-m* usually had no metrical value in poetry from the beginning of the known literature onwards.[72] In the later centuries, the presence of this *-m* is a stable factor in the literary texts and it is only unstable in very vulgar and late texts. The fact that it was weakly pronounced is, however, one of the factors which eventually brought about a final change of the system of the cases in Latin.[73]

3.1.2 The "replica" documentation

We have few traces of literature in Latin from the earliest centuries of Rome. By the middle of the fifth century BCE, social tensions brought about substantial political changes and the laws were written down and published on twelve bronze tablets. These laws, the *Leges XII tabularum*, are known to us from quotations in later authors (e.g., Cicero, Gellius, the grammarians, and

72. See Leumann (1977: § 228).
73. See Väänänen (1981).

the jurists). In such a case we thus have a "replica" tradition, which in its turn relies on a "contemporary" text which has been lost to us.[74]

It is highly probable that the Romans, before becoming influenced by the literary traditions of the Greeks, had had a folkloric tradition, consisting of songs and poetry of heroic content transmitted by oral traditions, but of this we possess no direct evidence: and the Romans themselves in the Classical and post-Classical periods were in this respect not much better informed than we are. The only traces which we possess of these early traditions are the various religious hymns (the *carmina* = songs), but in this case the documentation is very scarce indeed.[75] Another hint of such an earlier tradition is the fact that there is a set of "poetic" items in the vocabulary from the earliest times onwards which indicate this: for instance, the "poetic" word for 'death' is *letum*, the "normal" one *mors*; the poetic word for 'snake' *anguis*, the "normal" one *serpens*.[76]

Later Roman authors interested in archaic Latin mention expressions and quote brief texts and songs. The earliest prose writer from whose works we have a more substantial amount of text remaining, the elder Cato, quotes some old formulas and incantations in his work *De agricultura*. In the literature of the Classical and later periods (e.g., Varro, Cicero, Quintilian, Gellius, and the grammarians) there are several references to texts of a religious kind such as the *Carmen Saliare*, which is regarded as very old and to a large extent incomprehensible.[77] It should be underlined, however, that most of the authors providing us with such quotations are mainly interested in lexicographical and morphological items, which means that these fragments are of little value from the point of view of historical syntax.[78]

However, we do possess one such text, which was written down in a relatively late period, the *Carmen Arvale*. The brotherhood of the *Arvales* was

74. See Conte (1994: 16 f.); cf. Hofmann & Szantyr (1965: 39–40).
75. See Conte (1994: 19–27); cf. Hofmann & Szantyr (1965: 39–40).
76. See, e.g., Marouzeau (1940, 1962: 190–193), Palmer (1961: 99 f.), and Santini (1999: 157 f., 265 ff.).
77. See, e.g., Conte (1994: 22 f.).
78. A text of particular importance from this point of view is Nonius Marcellus *de compendiosa doctrina*, a lexicographical work probably compiled in northern Africa in the fourth century CE (see Conte 1994: 626–627).

still around in the year 218 CE, when the inscription which preserves their hymn was carved. The fact that the text was written down at such a late period had some consequence for the way in which it has been transmitted to us: the stone-cutter probably did not understand a word of what he was writing. This inscription thus provides us with a very peculiar kind of "replica text".[79]

3.2 Early Latin: ca. 240–90 BCE

The Early Latin period is when Latin gradually assumes the norms which characterize the language in later periods: for this reason, the texts from these important early years represent somewhat different stages in the development of Latin syntax.[80]

3.2.1 The "contemporary" documentation

The epigraphical texts from the third century BCE provide us with the only substantial documents from that period. From the second century BCE, however, such documents are also accompanied by a growing number of literary texts which have been transmitted to us by a manuscript tradition. This means that the relative importance of the epigraphical material diminishes. The fact that the documentation becomes much richer from this period onwards gives us a much better possibility of evaluating each single document and the linguistic changes represented therein.

From the year 186 BCE we have the *Senatus consultum de Bacchanalibus*, an official inscription on bronze containing a ban on participation in a certain kind of worship of the god Bacchus. This document shows that the official Latin used in a political context by this time was very conservative compared to the Latin known to us from the literary texts from the same period. We find, for instance, some very archaic elements in the spelling system which probably do not represent contemporary pronunciation (*Duelonai* = CLat. *Bellonae* 'of Bellona'; *comoinem* = CLat. *communem* 'common'); some elements may exemplify a dialect spoken outside Rome (e.g., *arvorsum*

79. See Baldi (2002: 213–215).
80. See Hofmann & Szantyr (1965: 41–42).

= CLat. *adversum* 'against'). We also find some archaic syntactic elements in these texts, which probably do not reflect the kind of language in common use at the period (e.g., *neiquis eorum Sacanal habuise velet* = CLat. *ne habeat* 'he must not have'; *nequis adiese velet* = CLat. *ne adeat* 'he must not go to'), but which reflect a kind of language of which we find a few examples in archaizing texts of the same period (such as Cato the Elder's *De agricultura*); these elements, as well as the repetitive and alliterative character of the text (e.g., ... *neiquis* ... *neque* ... *neque neve* ... *neve* ... *neve* ... *neque* ... *neque* ...), are more stylistic than syntactic, as is often the case in stereotypical official language.[81]

Early Latin spelling as found in the inscriptions from this period does not usually distinguish certain phonological features. A phonological feature not represented in the traditional spelling is the length of the vowels. Sometimes it is, however, indicated in the inscriptions (from the first century BCE we have, e.g., *Sullai Feelici* for *Sullae Felici* 'to the successful Sulla' or *eiius* or *eIus* for *eius* 'his'). The problem was dealt with by some of the early authors, for instance by the poet C. Lucilius (d. 102 BCE), who sometimes indicated the length of the vowel in his works. In Classical Latin, however, the custom not to indicate this difference in the spelling was established and this practice is followed in the editions of the Latin texts.[82]

3.2.2 The "replica" documentation

The earliest Roman literature that we know of was not only heavily influenced by Greek models but also written by people who were not born in Rome themselves. Livius Andronicus was from Tarentum and came to Rome as a slave after the fall of his home town in 272, Cn. Naevius was born around 270 in Campania, T. Maccius Plautus (or perhaps rather M. Accius Plautus) was born around 250 in the area between what is nowadays called Umbria and Emilia-Romagna, Q. Ennius was born in 239 at Rudiae in the region nowadays called Puglia.[83]

81. See Baldi (2002: 208–213).
82. See Leumann (1977: §§ 11–14), Poccetti and Santini (1999: 183–185); cf. Baldi (2002: 215).
83. See Conte (1994: 39, 43, 49 f., 75).

According to tradition, Roman literature was born in the year 240 BCE, when Livius Andronicus presented a play in Latin on the stage, presumably a tragedy on a Greek subject. A few years later, the same author translated the *Odyssey* into Latin, using the old Italic verse, the *Saturnian*. This verse was also used by Naevius in his epic on the second Punic War. The *Saturnian* was, however soon replaced by the Greek hexameter, used by Ennius in his epic *annales*.[84]

From the second century BCE we hear of – and have fragments of – epic poetry (Ennius), satire (Lucilius), tragedy (Ennius, Pacuvius, etc.), and comedy (e.g., Caecilius), but also of oratory (Cato, Tiberius Gracchus, Caius Gracchus), philology, and history (e.g., Cato), but these fragments are all relatively short.[85] But we also have some complete works: we have nineteen comedies by Plautus (ca. 255 or 250–184 BCE) from the late third and early second centuries BCE, and from the second century BCE we have six comedies by Terence (ca. 185–159 BCE) and one relatively substantial text in prose, the *De agricultura* by the elder Cato (ca. 234–149 BCE).[86] The major part of the preserved literature from the early period thus consists of poetry and mainly of comedies.

Of most of the important works written in this early period, we thus possess only a few brief fragments, handed down in quotations found in later authors. The first Roman author whose works have been transmitted to us in a manner which permits us to investigate syntax extensively is Plautus, by whom we still have nineteen entire or almost entire comedies out of the much larger number which he wrote (in the Classical period the antiquarian Varro selected 21 plays out of about 90 transmitted under his name as being probably authentic). Plautus depended on Greek models (e.g., Menander), but reworked them in an independent manner.[87] From a linguistic point of view, he is important because he has constructions which are not found in literary and Classical Latin, but are found in the Vulgar Latin of later periods; we furthermore often find correspondences between constructions found in his writing and those met with in other early Indo-European languages, for instance in

84. See Conte (1994: 39–41, 43, 81–82).
85. See Conte (1994: 65–67, 75–80, 85–87, 104–109, 112–116, 118–121).
86. See Conte (1994: 50 ff., 92 f., 94–96, 86, 88 f.).
87. See Conte (1994: 49 f., 56 f.).

some cases the verbal noun is still used according to rules reconstructed for Proto-Indo-European (e.g., Plaut. *Aul*. 423: *quid tibi nos tactio est*).[88] Since Plautus thus marks the end of an earlier linguistic stage as well as the beginning of a new one, it has even been remarked by some (paradoxically and ironically) that Plautus marks the end of Roman literature.

3.3 Classical Latin: ca. 90 BCE–14 CE ("Golden Latin")

The Classical period is the period in which the standards for the most important literary genres were created. We can follow this development towards a standard both in the literary texts transmitted by the manuscripts and in the inscriptions made in this period.[89] It should be emphasized, however, that the standard met within the texts is a practical one. The theoretical study of syntax in Rome was confused with that of style and with that of morphology.[90]

The Latin described in most grammars is the Latin found in the great literary texts from the Classical period. In the post-Classical and Late periods there are some changes in the written standard, but the main features of Classical Latin remain in the later forms of official and educated written language. It should be emphasized, however, that the standard was changing in Roman times. In Late Antiquity Cicero is often referred to as the great and unsurpassed model of Latin prose and oratory. It was, however, not until the rediscovery of Classicism in the Late Middle Ages and during the Renaissance that his and a few other Classical authors' use of syntax became virtually the only standard by which all Latin texts had to be judged with regard to correctness.[91]

3.3.1 The "contemporary" documentation

The "contemporary" documentation from this period consists mainly of funerary and political documents, which preserve a kind of language which is

88. See Hofmann & Szantyr (1965: 34); cf. Baldi (2002: 228–231).
89. See Conte (1994: 134 ff., 249 ff.); cf. Hofmann & Szantyr (1965: 42–43).
90. On the birth of the theoretical study of syntax in Rome, see Baratin (1989).
91. See, e.g., Waquet (2002: e.g. 33 f., 38, 125 ff., 128, 178 f.) and Stotz (2002: 161–167).

very stereotyped and found in similar inscriptions in Italy, especially in the Italic languages. In later centuries funerary as well as the various kinds of political and official inscriptions exhibit a relatively limited variation in their syntactic structure and are thus of minor importance for the study of the development of Latin syntax.

From the post-Classical period, however, the epigraphic documentation gradually assumes more importance, as the inscriptions exhibit a growing number of phonetic, morphological, and syntactic features which reflect contemporary linguistic development (cf. Section 3.4 below).

However, some of this documentation from the Classical and early post-Classical period is of great interest to us. One example is the *Monumentum Ancyranum*, containing what might be defined as the Emperor Augustus's political will in a Latin as well as a Greek version, which is of importance not only as a historical document but also as a document of contemporary official Latin and Greek.[92]

3.3.2 The "replica" documentation

From the Classical period the number of works representing various genres which we still have grows considerably. From this period we possess works in various poetic genres as well as in different kinds of prose, but even in this case only a minor part of the literary works produced at the time and known to us through comments in ancient literature have been transmitted to us.

M. Tullius Cicero (106–43 BCE) made an important political career in Rome thanks to his great abilities as an orator. His ideas on language and style gradually matured over the years and this had some importance also for his treatment of syntax. In his theoretical works on language and style (as, for instance, in *De oratore*, *Orator*, and *Brutus*), he is mainly concerned with the kind of language that should be used by an orator: as the main linguistic model he proposes the kind of language used in educated circles in Rome at the time. Archaic, poetic, or provincial elements should be avoided in this context. He also disapproved of the unnecessary introduction of new words as well as of the use of foreign words. When Latin lacked an appropriate expression found in the philosophically and conceptually more developed

92. See Conte (1994: 259 f.); on official Latin see, e.g., Poccetti and Santini (1999: 221–230).

Greek language, he created, however, new Latin words along the Greek models (especially in his works on philosophy). The rules for Latin prose style that M. Tullius Cicero proposed were soon accepted by the grammarians and taught in the Roman schools for centuries.[93]

The discussion of language and style was vivid at this time in Rome, and the leading men of the day took an active part in it. One of them was C. Iulius Caesar (100–44 BCE), whose position on the matter differed somewhat from Cicero's, since he in some cases thought that the overall logic imposed by the rules of grammar should prevail over the often less logical practice actually found in everyday language: on this matter he even wrote a book, *De analogia*, which we unfortunately do not have. M. Brutus (ca. 85–42 BCE), one of the men who finally killed Caesar, was another active interlocutor in this discussion and Cicero dedicated one of his treatises on rhetoric to him.[94]

This discussion of style among the Roman élite in the first century BCE took place against the background of a similar discussion among the Greeks in the same period, with which Romans like Cicero and Caesar were closely familiar from their years as students in Greek centers of higher education. The discussion among the Greeks considered, among other things, how to respond to the circumstance that the Greek language had changed considerably from the Classical period in the fifth and fourth centuries BCE, when the respected models for the writing of Greek prose were composed. In Rome the corresponding discussion to a considerable extent regards the significance of a few vital concepts in this discussion, such as "archaism", "Atticism", and "Asianism", when transposed to Roman soil and used in the discussion of the Latin literary language.[95]

C. Sallustius Crispus (86–35 or 34 BCE), a former politician who dedicated the last years of his life to his works on Roman history, was among those who thought that an archaizing form of language was the best way to create a Latin model worthy of being the Roman equivalent to the language and style found in Thucydides' well-regarded work on the Peloponnesian war (from around 400 BCE). This model was followed and admired by several of

93. See Conte (1994: 199 ff., 373 f., 514 f.), Kennedy (1994: 151 ff., 173 ff., 264 f.), and Santini (1999: 314–324).
94. See Conte (1994: 188, 231) and Santini (1999: 324–327).
95. See Kennedy (1994: 95 ff., 162 ff.).

the greatest historians in Rome in the later centuries (e.g., Tacitus around 100 CE).[96] Cicero was not very much in favor of the use of archaisms in prose, and among the historians there were also some, for example Livy (or Titus Livius, 59 BCE–17 CE), who followed his principles rather than those of Sallust.[97]

From the Classical period, however, we also possess texts on practical matters which are less elaborated than Cicero's speeches or Sallust's monographs on historical events. In this category we have, for instance, M. Terentius Varro's (116–27 BCE) work on, among other things, the Latin language and Vitruvius Pollio's work on architecture (published during the reign of the emperor Augustus).[98]

Among the earliest Roman poets there was a discussion regarding to what extent the Greek models should be followed. In the earlier part of the Classical period, the poet Lucretius imitates the Homeric feature *tmesis*, that is, the division of prefix and verb (e.g., *conque putrescunt* in Lucr. 3,343), and accepts several archaic features in his language.[99] The classic model for Latin poetry was, however, created towards the end of the Classical period, after the fall of the Roman Republic and during the reign of Caesar's adoptive son Octavian, also known as Augustus, and Rome's first emperor. The new regime took a vivid interest in Roman literature and among its favored poets was Vergil (or P. Vergilius Maro, 70–19 BCE). His balanced and elegant model for the treatment of the hexameter as well as his rather restricted use of archaisms and other peculiar linguistic features became the classic model to be followed by all later poets. His *Aeneid* soon ousted Ennius's *annales* as the national epic of the Romans. Other very influential poets from the Augustan era are Horace (or Q. Horatius Flaccus, 65–8 BCE) and Ovid (or P. Ovidius Naso, 43 BCE–18 CE).[100]

In the later centuries, these models are followed as closely as possible and according to the abilities of the authors and their familiarity with the

96. See Conte (1994: 234–242) and Santini (1999: 327–334).
97. See Conte (1994: 373).
98. See Conte (1994: 210 ff, 387 ff.).
99. See Conte (1994: 155 ff., 169 ff.) and Santini (1999: 267–175); cf. Palmer (1961: 101 ff.).
100. See Conte (1994: 162 ff., 281–283, 292 ff., 340 ff.) and Santini (1999: 279–288, 311–314).

accentuation found in Classical Latin. New poetic words may be introduced, but usually these words follow the morphosyntactic patterns already present in Vergil. However, due to the changes in the accentuation system in later Latin, only the learned elite was capable of respecting the Classical rules in the last centuries of Antiquity.[101]

3.4 Postclassical Latin ("Silver Latin")

3.4.1 The "contemporary" documentation

From the post-Classical period, the "contemporary" documentation gradually assumes more importance, as the inscriptions exhibit a growing number of phonetic, morphological, and syntactic features which reflect contemporary linguistic developments. An interesting document regarding the development of the official language is an inscription from the year 129 CE (*CIL* VIII Suppl. II 18042), in which we have the first occurrence of the construction *dico quod* in an official inscription. This shows that some constructions proper to the spoken language were gradually accepted into the language used even in such a context.[102]

The graffiti found in a particularly rich quantity at Pompeii and Herculaneum, but also at other sites, represent a special kind of epigraphic material. They are mostly of an informal character and often formulated by people who had had only limited school training and who therefore represent a kind of semi-literacy. They are of different kinds: some of them tell us about the political life in these towns (4), others contain quotations from literature (e.g., *CIL* IV,97) or verses by local and to us unknown poets (5). In some cases we even meet individuals who abuse their enemies and rivals (e.g., *CIL* IV,8137):[103]

101. See Leumann (1977: § 245) and Conte (1994: e.g., 607, 656, 717, 722 f.); cf., e.g., Haverling (1988: 111).
102. See Cuzzolin (1994: 113 n. 46).
103. See Väänänen (1959: 120 f.); cf. Étienne (1977: 124 ff., 323 ff., 357 f.); Ramat (1980).

(4) *CIL* IV,698: *Saturninus cum discentes suos* ... = CLat. *Saturninus cum discentibus suos*
'Saturninus with his students'

(5) *CIL* IV, 1173: *quisquis ama valia peria quin osci amare bis ⟨t⟩anti peria quisquis amare vota* = CLat. *quisquis amat valeat, pereat qui non scit amare, bis tanti pereat quiquis amare vetat*
'whoever loves, may she thrive; may she perish who does not know how to love twice over may she perish who forbids loving'

These documents are devoid of any literary ambition and portray the colorful language of everyday life. For these reasons, they provide us with a particularly important and rich documentation of the language spoken in the streets of the cities of Italy in the period they reflect: this goes for the phonetics as well as the morphology and the syntax. Since the material is particularly rich from the area which was destroyed by the eruption of Vesuvius in August 79 CE, we are relatively well informed in regard to the language spoken in southern Italy in the years preceding this date: this circumstance is furthermore strengthened by the fact that we have a novel, Petronius's *Satyrica*, in a section of which the author portrays a group of rich freedmen in a town in this same area and the kind of language they used (cf. Section 2.2 above).[104]

From this period we have some very interesting documentation on papyrus and wood. These documents, mostly consisting of private letters (as, for instance, Claudius Terentianus's dictated letters and the Vindolanda Tablets) and only to a minor extent of literary works, are more formal and close to literature than the graffiti, but as opposed to the inscriptions they have a private and thus relatively informal character (cf. Section 2.2 above).[105]

3.4.2 The "replica" documentation

Cicero's definition of good Latin prose was launched as a norm only a couple of decades after his death in the year 43 BCE. An important admirer of Cicero was Seneca *rhetor*, father of the philosopher who was Nero's teacher.

104. See, e.g., Petersmann (1977), Boyce (1991), and Baldi (2002: 231–235); cf. Conte (1994: 453 ff., 456).
105. Cf. Cavenaile (1958).

Towards the end of the first century CE, Rome's first public professor of Latin rhetoric, Quintilian (or M. Fabius Quintilianus, ca. 35 CE–after 95 CE), was a "Ciceronian" too.[106]

In the later centuries, the discussion of style was to a considerable extent a discussion in favor of or against this definition. In the first and early second centuries CE, Seneca the younger (or L. Annaeus Seneca, ca. 4 BCE–65 CE) and his "Asianic" prose and Cornelius Tacitus (ca. 55–after 117 CE) with his archaizing and poetic language in his works on Roman history represent somewhat different attitudes towards Latin prose from those of Cicero.[107] It is, however, first in the second century CE that we encounter a movement which systematically proposes a program that radically differs from the one suggested by Cicero. The Emperor Hadrian (117–138 CE) considered Cato's old-fashioned prose (even from the point of view of the second century BCE!) more important and efficient than Cicero's elegant and elaborated sentences (cf. *Hist. Aug.* 16,6). M. Cornelius Fronto (ca. 100–after 170 CE), the teacher of the future emperor Marcus Aurelius (161–180 CE), proposed a model for the writing of Latin prose where rare and old expressions as well as imaginative neologisms were regarded as elements with which an author should decorate his language.[108]

Fronto and his followers thus provide us with some information regarding early Latin usage, but this rather artificial language gives us relatively few pieces of information on contemporary language. The late second century CE is, however, an important turning-point in the history of Latin syntax: around this time several important changes had taken place and manifested themselves even in texts written by educated writers (cf. Section 1 above).[109]

106. See Kennedy (1994: 173 ff., 187 ff.).
107. See Conte (1994: 415 f., 537, 541), Kennedy (1994: 173, 176 ff.), and Santini (1999: 330 ff., 314–338).
108. See Conte (1994: 580–584), Kennedy (1994: 196 ff.), and Santini (1999: 348–350); cf. Hofmann & Szantyr (1965: 43–44).
109. See, e.g., E. Löfstedt (1959: 1 ff.).

3.5 Late Latin

The Late Latin period is the longest one, and there are considerable differences between the language encountered in Tertullian (around 200 CE) and that found in Gregory the Great (around 600 CE). These 400 years are characterized by great political, social, and linguistic changes. It is customary to refer to this long period as "Late Latin" and "Late Antiquity" and we follow this custom.

From a historical and cultural as well as a linguistic point of view it would, however, be reasonable to divide it into three subsections:[110]

(1) An early period, from around 200 CE until the early fourth century, during which the Roman state was still fighting the Christians and in which Christians did not yet dominate Roman society;
(2) An intermediate period, from the fourth century to around 476 CE, in which the Roman state became Christian and in which the Western empire had to face growing difficulties in the form of invading barbarian tribes; and
(3) The last period, from ca. 476 to ca. 600 CE, in which most of the territory of the former Western Empire was dominated by Germanic tribes who had established their kingdoms there and in which Roman society and Roman schools gradually ceased to function.

These political and social changes are relevant to the history of the language.

3.5.1 The "contemporary" documentation

The official inscriptions from this period still follow the traditional pattern rather closely. In the less official inscriptions there are, however, some interesting indications of the linguistic changes that were going on. In the latest inscriptions we can even find some traces of the dialects from which the various Romance languages eventually developed.[111]

From Late Antiquity we also possess contemporary letters, often of an official character (as for instance the papyri from Ravenna). These letters are

110. See Le Glay et al. (2001: 339 ff., 455 ff., 475 ff.) and Le Goff (1990: 3–36).
111. Cf. Pirson (1901) and Galdi (2004).

written in the kind of rhetorical and elaborated style that was used by the Roman chancelleries.[112]

3.5.2 *The "replica" documentation*

In Late Antiquity we can observe a growing gap between the literary norm and the everyday use of the language. The gap is bigger at the end of the period than at its beginning. There are a growing number of texts, often of a practical nature, such as texts on medicine or on cooking. The Latin in such texts often provides us with examples of a kind of language rarely seen in the more literary texts of the period. The literary standard itself is, however, evolving during these centuries.

In Late Antiquity both schools of thought – Cicero's as well as Fronto's – are represented in the schools of rhetoric. In the fourth and fifth centuries, the archaizing school is represented by authors from Gaul, such as D. Magnus Ausonius (ca. 310–ca. 394) and Sidonius Apollinaris (or C. Sollius Modestus Apollinaris Sidonius, ca. 431–ca. 486), but also in an orator from Rome such as Q. Aurelius Symmachus (ca. 342–402). An approach more similar to the one proposed by Cicero is found in Christian authors like St. Ambrose (or Aurelius Ambrosius ca. 339–397) and St. Augustine (or Aurelius Augustinus, 354–431).[113]

Among the men of learning we can, however, observe some differences in attitude. There are those who, like the archaizing pagan orator Symmachus, avoid everything that seems "new" as compared to the language of the Classical period (and choose constructions such as *dico* + the accusative with the infinitive and only very rarely *dico quod*) and sometimes even provide us with unexpected hypercorrect forms (such as the genitive where the language of the Classical period would have used the preposition *de* and the ablative). And there are those who have a more liberal mind and accept some of the syntactic changes as, for instance, St. Ambrose (who occasionally writes not only *dico quod* but even *dico quia*).[114] St. Augustine is interesting in this re-

112. See Tjäder (1955: e.g. 146 ff.); cf. Fridh (1956).
113. See Conte (1994: 634 ff., 655 ff., 678 ff., 685 ff., 707 ff.); cf. Kennedy (1994: 273 ff.) and Haverling (1988: e.g., 259 ff., 2005).
114. See Hofmann & Szantyr (1965: 577); cf. Haverling (1988: 243 ff.); for an analysis of this

spect, since he is more liberal in some of his writings (e.g., in his sermons) and very much less so in others (e.g., in his early dialogues) and since he also discusses the problem and criticizes the snobbish attitudes of the traditional pagan culture.[115]

By the end of the fourth century CE, the language had undergone some substantial changes, which were almost entirely avoided by the educated authors at the time: a striking example of this development is provided by the *Itinerarium Egeriae* from the late fourth century, written in a language with almost no literary ambitions, providing us with a lot of interesting information regarding the language of everyday conversation at the time. It is, however, quite clear that the author belonged to a rather elevated social category and it is therefore likely that she would have moved without difficulty in the circles in which the educated authors of the time were moving, although she has not learned the rules for writing literary prose in the way they had (cf. Section 2.2 above).[116]

In some of the more practical texts, and especially in those texts which were still used and copied during the critical period between the decline of the Roman school and society in the late sixth century and the cultural and political renaissance in the late eighth century, we have a problem regarding the transmission of the texts. Some very important texts which were written by people who most probably had received reasonably good training at school present themselves in the manuscripts in a shape which is in sharp contrast with what we may assume regarding the ability of the author in that respect. One example is the rule that Benedict of Nursia (ca. 480–ca. 547) composed to his monastic order (the *Regula Benedicti*), and other examples are found in the medical treatises. In such cases, we often have manuscripts that provide us with a more vulgar form of Latin and others that have a more elegant form of Latin. Both tendencies – vulgarization as well as normalization – have to be taken into consideration in such cases.[117]

development in Late Latin, see Cuzzolin (1994).

115. See Kennedy (1994: 265–270).

116. See E. Löfstedt (1911: 6–12, 1959: 44–48), Maraval (1982: 23, 51 ff.), and Väänänen (1987: 7–11, 11–14, 153–157); cf. also Haverling (2005).

117. See, e.g., Coleman (1999) and Haverling (2003, 2005).

To what extent we should reckon with this problem in the texts from the later centuries is a matter of some controversy. The often very contradictory vulgarisms encountered in some of the texts from the later centuries may, however, very well belong to the early Middle Ages rather than to Late Antiquity (cf. Section 2.2 above).[118]

In the transitional period between the end of the Roman world around 600 CE and the Carolingian Renaissance 200 years later, we have a growing number of documents written in a kind of language which it would be hard to define as Latin, but also hard to define as Romance: we have a substantial number of such documents from Merovingian France. The changes seem to be more rapid in some areas than in others. The fact that a new situation had established itself is recognized around 800, when the difference between Medieval Latin on the one hand and Romance on the other is first made in France: an important part of the change was the establishment of the custom of pronouncing whole words the way there are spelled and not swallowing the endings according to the custom practiced by the Romans for centuries.[119]

The earliest mention of Romance as a separate kind of speech (*rustica Romana lingua*) is from the Council of Tours (813) and the first example of a text in Romance is the quotation of the Strasbourg Oaths (842).[120] For a long period, there is an overlap between the two kinds of situation: Latin was understood in France at least until the eighth century and in Spain at least until the eleventh century. Medieval Latin was thus born in the Carolingian Renaissance, but the Romance languages were not born as separate languages of literature until a few centuries later, until the eleventh century or later.[121]

In the first centuries of the Middle Ages, the syntactic structures of Medieval Latin closely resembled those of Late Latin. But with the development of Medieval culture and with the growing familiarity with the Roman texts, different forms of Medieval Latin were established.[122] Towards the end of the period there is a reaction against some of these forms, and in the Early

118. See, e.g., Giunta and Grillone (1991: VII–VIII, XVIIIf.).
119. See Wright (1982: 105 ff.; 2002: e.g., 127 ff.).
120. See, e.g., Wright (2002: 125, 127 ff.).
121. See Banniard (1992, 1993) and Wright (2002: 10 f., 31, 34–35, 92); cf. Wright (1982: 135 ff.).
122. See, e.g., E. Löfstedt (1959: 59–67) and Stotz (1996–2004, esp. 2002: 3–167).

Modern Age, the Classical form of Latin is introduced as the standard to be followed. However, in the very same period, the modern European languages gradually replace Latin in administration, in diplomacy, and finally, in science and scholarship.[123]

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123. See, e.g., Waquet (2002).

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Gualtiero Calboli

Latin syntax and Greek

1. Introduction

1.1 How extensive was the influence of Greek in Rome, and how important was Greek for Latin syntax?

An answer to the question of the extent of the influence of Greek in Rome has been given by Kaimio (1979), so in my opinion, we must focus on the question of its importance for Latin syntax. We must start with a basic caveat: it is possible that a construction supposed to reflect Greek influence is rather an independent development within Latin. Such a caveat has recently been expressed by Paolo Poccetti (1999: 112 [trans. P.B. & P.C.]):

> The evaluation of Greek influence on Latin syntax demands more caution than when one is dealing with the lexicon. With syntax, in fact, it becomes even more difficult to distinguish the contribution of one language to another from that which has arisen independently from common ancestry, purported parallel developments, and lastly from the results of a common interactive process in the Greco-Roman environment … Consequently, it is necessary to replace the general quantitative assessment and a more or less global vision of Greek influence on Latin, whether at the level of the literary language (Brenous) or at less controlled levels up to the emergent Romance languages (Bonfante 1960, 1967, 1983; Coseriu 1968, 1971) with a scalar approach to the phenomena, in relation to the varieties, contexts, ages, individual choices, and textual realities (Löfstedt 1980 [the Italian version of Löfstedt 1959]; Coleman 1975).

Aside from the term "scalar" (*scalarità*), which presupposes a connection between the different uses (though such a connection may or may not exist), I agree that we must be careful in evaluating Graecisms and that we must consider the different periods and the individual authors who employed certain or supposed Graecisms.

As for the periods of expansion of Hellenism, by considering only a few essential points we can recognize two trends in the study of the oldest phase of the Latin language: a trend to exaggerate its influence, and a trend to minimize it.[1] One very important point concerns poetry: the meters and interpretation of Saturnian verse. The influence of Greek has been recognized by Pasquali (1968: 5–21), who spoke of "la grande Roma dei Tarquini", (*Preistoria della Poesia Romana*), while Eduard Norden, Giovanni Battista Pighi, and many others collected by Bruno Luiselli (*Il problema della più antica prosa latina*) assigned greater importance to the old Italic and Indo-European metrical tradition.[2] Scholars who accept the latter explanation of Old Latin poetry and prose point to some aspects of Early Latin, namely, the rhythm of the words, the parallelism of the *cola*, and a sort of stability of coordinated clauses and reduction of subordinate clauses. For clarity, I quote my previous conclusion on the earliest Latin prose:

> Es ist vielleicht kein Zufall, daß wir in den ältesten lateinischen Texten ... keinen proleptischen Akkusativ antreffen, der zuerst bei Plautus vorliegt, während er im Griechischen schon im homerischen Epos vorhanden ist (vgl. Hofmann & Szantyr 1972: 471). Der Parallelismus, besonders der Satzparallelismus usw. hat m. E. lange Zeit die lateinische Sprache gegen die Zergliederung des Satzes geschützt. (Calboli 1987: 147)

1. A proponent of exaggeration is Peruzzi (1973: 9–79), who proposed that a Ἑλλὰς παιδεία was introduced into Latium, in particular in Alba Longa and Gabii, during the time of Romulus and Remus, for literary and military education.
2. Pasquali tried to show that the Saturnian meter was a "Graecanic" verse that enhanced the importance of Greek. I cannot agree with Dubuisson's (1985: 233) exaggerated declaration that: "l'influence grecque, par exemple, a totalement transformé la syntaxe latine". We know too little of Early Latin to accept such a dictum, which in any case is contradicted by Classical Latin. Without this knowledge, however, we can neither affirm nor exclude the possibility that the basic syntax of Latin, which was of course already established in Early Latin, was strongly influenced by Greek. Devoto (1983: 93 [trans. P.B. & P.C.]) agrees with Pasquali and explains: "Pasquali's response, affirmative insofar as regards this last possibility [that Saturnian verse was influenced by Greek "in the totality of the many commercial and lexical novelties that reached Rome from Greece"], seems beyond doubt: this does not imply that all Saturnian verse came from Greece, but only single *cola* or members that are based on the equivalence of two short syllables to one long."

The second trend is explicitly represented by Cornificius, the author of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, who criticizes the Greeks (*Rhet. Her.* 1,1,1; 3,23,38) and usually avoids employing the Greek names of the rhetorical rules as the figures of Book IV (see below).[3]

At this point, it is again worth considering Brenous's conclusion at the end of his rich (perhaps too rich) book on Graecism (Brenous 1895: 439–442), especially because by dissenting on a very important question, I will be able to identify a substantial aspect of imitation of the Greek language.[4] Brenous correctly points out that the diachronic study of Graecisms did not lead to a reduction in the number of Graecisms, but rather to a better explanation of their nature. The most essential and most noteworthy point is the fact that through the imitation of Greek syntax, Latin authors found many more possibilities of richer and fuller expression than through Latin alone:

> L'étude méthodique de la question des hellénismes a pour effet moins d'en réduire le nombre à mesure qu'on avance, que d'en préciser le sens et la portée. Ce qu'il faut entendre par ce mot, c'est une construction à laquelle, selon toute vraisemblance, le latin, abandonné à lui-même, ne serait pas arrivé et qu'il n'a formé qu'en reproduisant le type grec. (Brenous 1895: 440)

The authors who made the most use of Graecisms in prose were, in Brenous's opinion, Sallust, Livy, Tacitus, and to some extent Cicero; in poetry: Catullus, Propertius, Tibullus, Horace, Virgil, Ovid, Statius, and Valerius Flaccus. Brenous stresses how the lyric genre induced Horace to introduce Graecisms that were based on the lyric poetry which he was the first to present to Rome (Hor. *epist.* 1,19,23–24: *Parios ego primus iambos / ostendi Latio* 'I was the first

3. On the aversion of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*'s author to the Greeks, see my Commentary (Calboli 1993: 208). The alternate use of Greek and Latin in different situations and conditions in Greek official life has been discussed and attentively evaluated by Kaimio (1979: 59–194).
4. Graecism has been considered across different periods of Roman history by Devoto (1983: 93, 126–131), who writes: "Considering that Livius Andronicus is translating from Greek, that the models from Ennius and Plautus up to Terence are Greek, one is easily persuaded to believe that Graecism was introduced, from the time of the Campanian alliance onward, in an uninterrupted stream in which it would be futile to distinguish secondary phases." (Devoto 1983: 127 [trans. P.B. & P.C.]); see further Devoto (1983: 166–169, 223–231).

who introduced the Parian iambs into Latium'). As for Brenous's ultimate conclusion, he is right in linking Hellenism with grammar, but he does so incorrectly, because he believes that grammar, being normative, could induce Roman writers to avoid Graecisms:

> Les hardiesses de syntaxe inspirées du grec n'étaient pas senties comme une infraction à la règle, précisément parce que la langue grecque était pour ces Romains comme une seconde langue maternelle, et qu'elle les avait rendus capables de s'affranchir de la discipline étroite et pédantesque des grammairiens pour traduire avec grâce les idées et les sentiments, de même qu'ils excellaient à exprimer la pensée avec force et précision. (Brenous 1895 : 441f.)

On the contrary, I believe that grammar and rhetoric (the third part of rhetoric, namely the λέξις, *elocutio*) contributed to the encouragement of Graecism, because Greek grammarians considered Latin to be a dialect of Greek. The first grammarian who thought this was probably Hypsicrates of Amisos, a member of Caesar's retinue, but Tyrannion[5] also took this approach (see Kaimio 1979: 259; Funaioli 1907: 107f.; Haas 1977: 176f.). Suda 1185 quotes a work by Tyrannion about the Roman dialect in which it is explicitly stated that the Roman dialect was only an offshoot of the Greek language: περὶ τῆς Ῥωμαικῆς διαλέκτου ὅτι ἐστὶν ἐκ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς κοὐκ αὐθιγενὴς ἡ Ῥωμαικὴ διάλεκτος [about the Roman dialect, that it was not born in the country but derived from the Greek].[6] In any case, even an author who professed explicit hostility toward the Greek people, such as the author of the *Rhetorica ad C. Herennium* (see *Rhet.Her.* 1,1,1; 3,23,38),[7] followed Greek doctrine in rhetoric, though Marx (1894: 151) suggested that he misrepresented the Greek doctrine in some points. This concerns only the use of Latin examples

5. It is not certain whether this was Tyrannion the Elder (originally called Theophrastos) or Tyrannion the Younger (Diocles), see Haas (1977: 176, n. 1).
6. On the problems of the readings of this text, see Haas (1977: 176). The ms. gives an inconsistent reading: ἐκ τοῦ Ἀντιγένους ὅτι ἀντιγένης. The conjectural emendation κοὐκ αὐθιγενής has been suggested by Planer and accepted by Rohde, Wendel, and Haas. Didymos, too, perhaps considered Latin derived from Greek: "Didymos scheint in seiner Schrift Περὶ τῆς παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις ἀναλογίας ['On the analogy employed by the Romans'] (vgl. Funaioli 1907: 447–450) ebenfalls eine Abhängigkeit des Römischen vom Griechischen gesehen zu haben" (Haas 1977: 177).
7. Cf. Calboli (1993: 208).

in Book IV, but the doctrine remained Greek and even some examples were only elaborations of Greek matter. An important chapter of the influence exercised by Greek grammarians and rhetoricians concerns Horace's *Ars Poetica* and Horace's work in general (see Brink 1971: 163; Calboli 1998). The expansion of Greek, therefore, seems more likely than the contrary, and Greek influence was strong with respect not only to the writers' texts, but also to the theory of poetry, rhetoric, and grammar.

1.2 The distinction between complete and partial Graecism

At this point, we confront a fundamental problem in the understanding of Graecisms: the distinction between complete and partial Graecisms. A "partial Graecism" is a natural development within Latin that is reinforced by a similar construction in Greek. As examples of complete Graecisms, I quote some lines of Horace that are considered Graecisms by Löfstedt (1933: 416) and others (Kiessling and Heinze 1958: 197; Nisbet and Hubbard 1978: 148).[8] This argument leads to a special section of this chapter, on the use of Graecisms in poetry, because the freedom of poetry sometimes encouraged the use of complete Graecisms.

Because it considers this distinction between complete and partial Graecisms, Löfstedt's (1933) discussion of Greek influence on Latin syntax remains the most in-depth treatment. Even the recent Italian version of *Stylistics* by Szantyr does not add to this discussion. However, we must also recall that the use of Greek was so significant and widespread in the Roman world that it was completely assimilated to Latin. If we remember, on the other hand, that the Roman grammarians believed that Latin originated from Greek, then the admission of Greek forms into Latin and, in particular for our topic, into Latin syntax, does not seem so surprising and in a way is a kind of refinement and integration. Kaimio (1979) is especially worth considering in this respect. The starting-point must be Löfstedt's considerations and collection of data, but the richest source remains Brenous's (1895) *Les Hellénismes dans la syntaxe latine*, which I use throughout. Finally, I must also quote the position of Rosén (1999: 26):

8. They correspond to number (9) in Poccetti's list (1999: 114).

> Without going along with those who dub each Latin phenomenon that can be found in suitable Greek sources a Graecism[45] [A good example of such Graecomania is Brenous 1895] and rather sharing on this point the sober view of Löfstedt in the extensive chapter 'Zur Frage der Gräzismen', in which he introduced the notion of partial Graecism (1933: 416; cf. *Late Latin* [1959] 93) and Coleman in his 'Greek influence on Latin syntax' (1975), I will generalize and say that Graecism in syntax, while mostly beginning as literary *imitatio*, could trigger systemic changes and produce new phenomena, provided they met with language features existing before the 'argentea' (whereas lexical and the rare morphological Graecism could lead an existence independent of current Latin material).

I agree with Rosén and think this is proof that Latin writers were careful to introduce literary Graecisms that did not offend the Latin language but rather could be adapted to it.

We begin with some general ideas. First, the expansion of Greek in Rome and the link between Greece and Rome. The starting-point is Kaimio (1979). We begin with the Greek population in Rome (Kaimio 1979: 21–25). Most foreigners in Rome were Greeks from either Greece or southern Italy. Epigraphic material substantiated with some comments by Roman writers leads to the conclusion that a great proportion of the Roman population comprised immigrants, *peregrini* (they were the majority according to Seneca, *cons. ad Helv.*, *dial.* 12,6,2). Kaimio (1979: 24) concludes that "the population of persons of Greek or eastern extraction in Rome was considerable". On the other hand, Greek slaves and freedmen "were distinguished from the other slaves through their higher standing and through their employment for educational and cultural purposes," and they "played the decisive part in the Hellenization of the Roman culture, or perhaps more correctly, the birth of a Hellenic culture in Rome" (Kaimio 1979: 25). Dubuisson (1992: 94) stressed that Latin literature was a product of bilingual people:

> La littérature latine est ainsi essentiellement une littérature de bilingue. Cicéron, César ou Virgile ont appris le grec avant le latin (et Quintilien ou Tacite [Quint. *inst.* 1,1,12 ; Tac. *dial.* 29], s'ils mettent en garde contre certaines conséquences néfastes de cette habitude, ne la remettent pas fondamentalement en cause).

Table 1. Latin constructions influenced by Greek (after Dubuisson 1992: 100, n. 42)

"Génie propre" du latin	Latin "hellénisé"
caue facias, ne facias, ne faxis	*ne feceris* (pft. aoristique?)
dicat quis	*dixerit quis*
cupidus, auidus redeundi	*cupidus, auidus redire*
dignus qui cantetur	*cantari dignus*
dare, tradere educandum	*dare, tradere educare*
non habeo unde reddam	*non habeo unde reddere*
maior aliquo	*maior alicuius (Itala)*
me paenitet	*paeniteor*
ad pacem petendam	*pacis petendae* (Sall.)

I also agree with Dubuisson that to try to collect the Graecisms is a very difficult task, but not that it is useless ("Inventorier les hellénismes du latin est donc une tâche non seulement impossible, mais vaine" [Dubuisson 1992: 101]). Such an effort could assist us in avoiding and correcting some mistakes or inaccuracies made by Dubuisson himself if we take into account the list of Graecisms he provides (Table 1).

In all these cases, Dubuisson oversimplifies the problems he encountered. The prohibitive *ne feceris* 'do not make' is an early Latin expression which may have come from an Indo-European injunctive (see Calboli 1966: 288–308). The influence of Greek is more probable in *dixerit quis* 'somebody probably says' (Calboli 1966: 280), not for producing an idiom – it already existed in Latin – but for extending it. The same can be said of the infinitive dependent on an adjective or another verb (see Hofmann & Szantyr 1972: 344–353 and Perrochat 1932: 188–191). I agree with Perrochat (1932: 188): "Si le désir d'imiter des modèles grecs a pu activer le mouvement, il ne l'a pas créé et la construction n'est pas une imitation pure et simple". Also, the interrogative clause *non habeo unde reddere* 'I do not have from where to give back', shows a similar pattern to the type *nesciendo quae petere* 'by not knowing what to ask', is more than a simple imitation of Greek (see Calboli 1981: 149–151), and Greek influence played a smaller role than with the previous idiom, if any at all – which is not certain. As for *oratores pacis petendae* 'peace-making speakers' by Livy (9,45,18) (not Sallust, as incorrectly claimed by Dubuisson), I am astonished that Dubuisson compares *Aegyptum*

proficiscitur cognoscendae antiquitatis (Tac. *ann.* 2,59,1) 'he (Germanicus) starts to Egypt in order to know antiquities', which may be a real imitation of Thucydides, where neither a noun nor the verb *sum* could sustain the genitive of the gerund (see Calboli 1975: 157–163; and below). I do not believe that Dubuisson's Livy example is a Graecism at all, though sometimes a genitive of the gerundive (as in the Tacitus example) must be explained as a Graecism. Furthermore, *paeniteor* (*ThLL* X,1 66.16–78) can be considered a Graecism because it is frequently employed in the *Vetus Latina (Itala)*. However, this form seems induced or strongly supported by the Greek, and on this use, Dubuisson's position is correct (see Flobert 1975: 219, 566–572).

A very rich survey of relations and cultural contacts between Greece and Rome from the time of Etruscan influence on Rome to Julia Domna, the wife of the emperor Septimius Severus, from the seventh century BCE to the third century CE, has been given by Kaimio (1979: 41–58) with relevant bibliography. I note only some points relevant to our theme, in particular the fact that the subordination of Roman literature to Hellenism was more or less challenged in every period so that the complete subordination of Latin to Greek was either excluded or severely limited. Strong influence of Greek on Latin, on the one hand, must thus be excluded or reduced to a few cases. On the other hand, such influence must have been encouraged by some similarities already found in Latin. First, the Greek origin of some phenomena which came to Rome through Etruscan "was probably not recognized" (Kaimio 1979: 42), so strong and expansive was the Greek influence in Italy. The Philhellenism of the so-called Scipionic circle was more political than cultural (but Terence must not be underestimated, I would add), so that the influence of Greek increased with the Empire as well as with the interest on the part of Greek writers in the Roman world (Kaimio 1979: 51–55), until the last period even saw "the rise to power of Eastern Emperors". This helps to explain why Ammianus Marcellinus, a Greek historian, wrote in Latin, the language of the Tacitean histories continued by him,[9] but intro-

9. Cf. Calboli (1983: 34–48). The fact that Ammianus was a Greek is certain, because Ammianus himself says so (31,16,9). Cf. also Wolfgang Seyfarth's edition of Ammianus (1978: Vol. II, p. 218, Leipzig: Teubner) which claims that he was born in Antiochia. This has been denied by Charles Fornara (1992) but confirmed against Fornara by Guy Sabbah (1997). I am sure that Sabbah is right (see Calboli 2003: 397f.).

duced some Hellenisms into his text. These concerned syntax, and we consider them later.

The use of Greek in official life is worth considering because some documents were written in both Latin and Greek, explicity revealing bilingualism. In this field, Kaimio (1979: 59–167) also provides a rich collection of data, with references and good suggestions. I would like to stress a few points: the importance of Greek inscriptions in and outside Rome (e.g., in Sicily, the most Hellenized area in the Western Mediterranean, where in Republican times, Greek prevails or is exclusive, while in the Imperial Age the inscriptions are in Latin) (Kaimio 1979: 68f.). Another strongly Hellenized place was Neapolis: here Greek lasted until the Flavian Age. Close to Neapolis was Puteoli, where many inscriptions survived, some of them in Greek. The texts from the archives of the Sulpicii, written in Puteoli, include some Greek documents and illustrate Greek influence on the language of C. Eunus, one of the personalities we find in that archive and whose vulgarisms include syntactic forms influenced by Greek. The conclusion Kaimio draws at the end of the chapters on the use of Greek as an official language is worth quoting:

> I would not on the basis of the language use in the Senate accredit Greek with the position of an official language, but obviously, if the institution of 'official language' had been known to the Romans, they would certainly have taken Greek into account within the system. (Kaimio 1979: 110)

In fact, the first ambassador who spoke Greek in the Senate without an interpreter was Apollonius Molon in 81 BCE. He was granted this exceptional honor "because he very much helped the Roman orators" (*quoniam summam uim Romanae eloquentiae adiuuerat*, Val. Max. 2,2,3). He was the teacher of many Roman orators, including Cicero and Caesar. However, it is not certain that Valerius Maximus is correct, because he tells us that old Roman magistrates used Latin even in Greece and Asia Minor, but the epigraphic evidence testifies, on the contrary,

> that for the whole period discussed in this work [i.e., until Late Latin], the decrees, letters and edicts issued by the Roman senate, Emperors and magistrates to eastern provinces were with only one notable group of exceptions translated into Greek. (Kaimio 1979: 110)

In another group of inscriptions, Latin or bilingual texts are more common than Greek alone. Therefore, Kaimio (1979: 111) declares the picture given by Valerius Maximus (2,2,2) to be not completely reliable. On the other hand, the documents collected by Viereck (1888) and Sherk (1969) provide precise data for evaluating this subject directly (Sherk adds a commentary and a rich bibliography on every document).

After treating the question of Greek in everyday Roman use, Kaimio (1979: 189–194) discusses Greek as a cultural language. This second aspect is the most important for us, because the syntax available to us normally stems from literary texts. The use of spoken Greek in other kinds of language is considered from the point of view of vulgar and spoken Latin.

As for literature, it must be pointed out that "we do not know of any Greek literature produced in Rome before the birth of Roman literature in Latin" (Kaimio 1979: 266). This implies that at the beginning of Roman literature, competition with Greek literature existed and dominated the development of such activity in the sense that the literary genres and the works produced in them were under Greek influence. The earliest known Roman literary genres are theatre (tragedy and comedy), epic poetry, oratory, and history (though history was written in Greek at the beginning as a contrast with the pro-Carthaginian point of view of the Hellenistic historians). At this point we must give authors' names, which are clearer than any general statement: Naevius, Ennius, Pacuvius and Accius, Plautus, Caecilius, and Terence, for epic poetry, tragedy, and comedy. In the field of oratory and historiography, Cato, then Varro and Cicero, played a singular role, though in very different ways, because Varro contributed to the history of science and Latin linguistics, while Cicero, who used an incomparably better kind of Latin than Varro, contributed rather to the development of Roman oratory and prose. The imitation of Cicero, which begins with Quintilian and was already suggested by Seneca the Elder,[10] represented an important form of influence. As for

10. In many passages of his *Institutio Oratoria*, Quintilian expressed great admiration for Cicero, calling him *uir eloquentissimus* (*inst.* 4,2,58), *magister eloquentiae* (*inst.* 5,11,17), *praecipuus in eloquentia uir* (*inst.* 6,3,3), *Latinae eloquentiae princeps* (*inst.* 6,3,1), *Romanae eloquentiae princeps* (*inst.* 6,6,30), *perfectus orator* (*inst.* 12,1,19), *diuinus orator* (*inst.* 4,3,13), *caelestis in dicendo* (*inst.* 10,2,18), cf. Sehlmeyer (1912); Alberte Alberte (1998: 165–183); Kennedy (1969: 110–112, 1972: 505ff.); Calboli and Calboli Montefusco (2001: 27).

Graecism, I would say that the Ciceronian influence contributed to its blocking rather than extension, and that Cicero himself tried to develop a national Roman oratory and therefore to invade and occupy the field and thwart possible influence by Demosthenes and the other Attic orators (cf. Cic. *off.* 1,2: *quam ob rem magnopere te hortor, mi Cicero* [Marcus Tullius is addressing his son], *ut non solum orationes meas sed hos etiam de philosophia libros, qui iam illis fere se aequarunt, studiose legas; uis enim maior in illis dicendi, sed hoc quoque colendum est aequabile et temperatum orationis genus. Et id quidem nemini uideo Graecorum adhuc contigisse, ut idem utroque in genere laboraret sequereturque et illud forense dicendi et hoc quietum disputandi genus* 'for this reason I am very anxious, Marcus, that you should give careful attention not only to my speeches, but also to those philosophical works which now almost equal them in quantity. For, whereas these speeches excel in forceful eloquence, the even and restrained style of the other works deserves equal attention. Indeed, I do not know of any Greek yet who has achieved as much in both genres, pursuing the oratory of the bar as well as this more reflective kind of disputation', trans. Higginbotham 1967). The same opinion is given by Kennedy (1972: 280) in his comparison of Cicero and Demosthenes: "For all the greatness of Demosthenes, the overall eminence of Cicero is not difficult to mantain … His influence on subsequent intellectual history has been infinitely greater [*sc.* than that of Demosthenes]".

Using Poccetti's suggestions quoted at the outset, I now give the specific syntactic Graecisms he pointed out (Poccetti 1999: 112–117)[11] in order to give an idea of the extent of Greek influence on Latin syntax. I integrate this list with some other kinds of Graecism and refer to the following list as "previous list". This list is then followed by a systematic treatment of the syntactic Graecisms presented in the order adopted by Brenous (1895), with some additions necessitated by more than a century of studies in this field of research.

11. I number Poccetti's examples so that I can take all these cases into account in the following pages.

A previous list (mostly from Poccetti 1999: 112–117):[12]

1. Epigraphic shift from the type *eqo Kanaios*, under Etruscan influence, to the Greek type *Ualeri sum*;
2. More freedom in the use of Graecism in poetry than in prose; for example, Ennius's *dia* and *magna dearum* from Homer's δῖα 'goddess' and πότνια θεάων 'queen of goddesses';
3. Accusative of relationship, as in Verg. *Aen.* 1,589: *os umerosque deo similis* 'godlike in face and shoulders', versus Hom. *Il.* 2,478: ὄμματα καὶ κεφαλὴν ἴκελος Διί 'his eyes and head like unto Zeus';
4. Predicative participle with verbs of perceiving and knowing, as in Verg. *Aen.* 2,377: *sensit medios dilapsus in hostes* 'he knew that he had fallen into the midst of foes', Gk. ἤσθετο ἐμπεσών 'he perceived himself to have fallen down';
5. Infinitive of purpose with an adjective (*callidus dicere* 'clever at saying');
6. Revival of the present participle in Classical Latin, whereas this form is almost dead in Old Latin (in both cases, Greek influence was limited to reinforcing a Latin development);
7. Gerund and gerundive without *causa* (imitating Menander);[13]
8. Gerund and gerundive without *causa* (imitating Thucydides);
9. Some case constructions, such as *regnare, audire, desinere* + genitive (in Greek ἄρχειν 'to begin', ἀκούειν 'to hear', παύεσθαι 'to stop' + genitive);
10. Dative with movement verbs instead of *in* or *ad* + accusative;
11. Change from original Latin OV word order;
12. The construction *dico quod, quia* + indicative or subjunctive instead of Accusativus cum Infinitivo;
13. Reduction of cases encouraged by some Greek words employed with Greek desinences (Hofmann & Szantyr 1972: 129);
14. Introduction of some Greek expressions into Late Latin: *inter medium, sub uno, in unum, plus minus*;

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12. Weinreich ([1953] 1963: 29–46) gives some examples of "grammatical interference", but without considering the Classical languages and without reference to such key concepts as the "core grammar" of a language and transformational grammar. In its place, I recommend the volume edited by Müller et al. (1992).
13. For this use in epigraphic language, see Nachmanson (1909: 31–43).

15. Abstract instead of concrete nouns (*ministerium* = minister);
16. In contrast, the Old Latin structures which occur in the *carmina*,[14] namely parataxis, parallelism of the cola, and series of synonyms, are unrelated to Greek influence and disappear or are significantly reduced in Classical Latin under the partial influence of Greek. As pointed out by Löfstedt, this is because a kind of "fundamental community of culture" developed between Latin and Greek, though this is more evident in the Late period: "In a large number of phenomena", Löfstedt (1959: 110) writes, "within the fields of semasiology, idiom, and partly even syntax we can discover by patient study an internal similarity, a striking interfusion between Late Latin and Late Greek, which can only be referred to their intimate contact and fundamental community of culture".

In describing the Graecisms in Latin syntax, I first give those involving the cases, then those in infinitival and participial uses, and third, clausal syntax.

In this chapter, the literary texts are the nucleus, but some attention is also given to some vulgar texts produced in Greek-speaking lands, such as the letters of Cl. Terentianus and Cl. Tiberianus, and the new Pompeian documents from Murecine, which are financial instruments of persons who traded with Greek-speaking regions, such as Alexandria. The epigraphic items have been collected in part, specifically for the eastern provinces of the Roman Empire, by Galdi (2004).

2. Graecisms in the literary language (cases, independent and dependent clauses)

2.1 Cases

2.1.1 Nominative and vocative

Brenous (1895: 83–94) gives some examples of Graecism in the use of the nominative instead of the vocative.

14. See Luiselli (1969: 37–171) and Calboli (1986: 1074–1080, 1997a: 84–94).

(1) Plaut. *Asin.* 664: *da, meus occellus, mea rosa, mi anime, da, mea uoluptas, Leonida, argentum mihi*
'oh Leonida, my little eye, my rosebud, my heart's delight, my darling, do give me the money'

Brenous explains this nominative by means of a pronoun which, in his opinion, underlies this phrase: *da* ⟨*tu qui es*⟩ *meus occellus* 'give me (money), you who are my little eye', but such an explanation is excluded or made more complicated, in my opinion, by the following *mi anime*.

In African Latin inscriptions, the vocative is used instead of the nominative (see Adams 2003: 512f.), as in *CIL* VIII, 2182: *L. Leli Siluane, sacerdos Saturni, uotum soluit libens animum* 'L. Laelius Silvanus, priest of Saturnus, fulfilled the votive promise with pleasure'. Adams points out that this usage corresponds to some Punic and neo-Punic inscriptions. It is worth considering that such use of the vocative as a substitute for the nominative also occurs in Etruscan documents. Some explanations of this phenomenon have been given, but for now, it is only important to document this use (for discussion, see Adams 2003: 514).

2.1.2 Genitive

2.1.2.1 Partitive genitive. Caesar uses a partitive genitive with an adjective, with neither quantity nor comparative meaning: Caes. *civ.* 3,105,4: *in occultis ac reconditis templi* 'in the inmost recesses of the temple'. Sallust expands this use under Thucydides' influence (e.g., Thuc. 1,90,2: τὸ βουλόμενον καὶ ὕποπτον τῆς γνώμης οὐ δηλοῦντες πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους 'giving no indication of their real purpose or of their suspicion with regard to the Athenians'), cf. Brenous (1895: 97). This usage expanded greatly in Classical poetry too, and therefore I am not sure that it is a complete Graecism. In this field, we must avoid extending Hellenism beyond its proper space: Hofmann & Szantyr (1972: 55) accept the following as Graecisms: Enn. *ann.* 22: *dia dearum* 'the holy goddesses' (Hom. *Il.* 6,305: δῖα θεάων); *Vulg. Ioh.* 16,17: *dixerunt ergo ex discipulis eius ad uicem* 'then some of his disciples said to one another'; *Luc.* 11,49: *mittam ad illos prophetas ..., et ex illis occident* 'I will send them prophets ..., some of whom they will kill'. Hofmann & Szantyr (1972: 64) also accept the opinion that the use of the

genitive was sometimes influenced by Hellenism, but this theory is further limited by findings such as those of Brenous (1895: 102f.), who, for his part, already ruled out many of the Graecisms proposed by various scholars before him.

2.1.2.2 Possessive genitive. The omission of *filius* in texts such as Cic. *Verr.* 4,138: *Diodorus Timarchidi*, is considered a Graecism by Brenous (1895: 106), but Hofmann & Szantyr (1972: 59f.) show that this usage is also found in Umbrian (*Tab. Iguv.* IV, 3: **vesune puemunes pupřiçes** '(offer it) to Vesona of Pomono Poprico', see von Planta (1897: 412); both **puemunes** and **pupřiçes** are genitive singular (Ancillotti and Cerri 1996: 402f.).

2.1.2.3 Adverbial use of the genitive. Some adverbial uses of the genitive are Graecisms, because they occur with a verb whose Latin construction is with the ablative or accusative, and they may correspond to the separative meaning which in Latin is expressed with *a, ab, ex, de* + ablative, and in Greek with genitive with or without the preposition ἐκ (ἐξ). A list of such verbs is provided by Löfstedt (1933: 417) and Hofmann & Szantyr (1972: 83), which I either quote as given in these authors, or provide a supplement. On the nature of such constructions, see also Coleman (1975: 140): "Although a precedent for these uses existed in the variation between partitive or referential genitive and separative ablative with *egere* and *indigere* . . . , the model is much more likely, given the stylistic register to which they belong, to be the regular Greek use of the (ablatival) genitive with *paúesthai* 'to cease', *apékhesthai* 'to refrain from' etc."; see also Ciancaglini (1997: 855).

Many Latin verbs take a genitive atypically, and this construction is best explained, in Brenous's opinion, as a Hellenism. This explanation has been accepted by Löfstedt and Hofmann & Szantyr. I agree with them and give examples.

(2) a. Hor. *carm.* 2,13,38: ***laborum decipitur***
'(the father of Pelops) is cheated of their labors/labor'

laborum Borzsák v.l. *laborem* Klingner; both readings are well attested (*laborum* even by Ps-Akron) and both are connected with Greek usage by Nisbet and Hubbard (1978: 222): "the retained accusative [is] a poeticism on the Greek model. *laborum*, which is also well-attested, has been defended as

a Greek genitive of relation"; see also Romano (1991: 687), who reads *laborem*.

(2) b. Hor. *carm.* 2,9,17–18: ***desine*** *mollium / tandem* ***querellarum***
'give over at last these soft complaints'

λῆξον ὀδυρμῶν, "wie *abstineto* (ἀπέχου) *irarum* ['curb your anger'] III 27,69, *agrestium/ regnavit* (ἦρξε) *populorum* ['(Daunus) ruled the country peoples'] III 30,12 sind kühne syntaktische Neubildungen nach griechischem Muster" (Kiessling and Heinze 1958: 197); "a grandiose Graecism appropriate to a mannered writer like Valgius [whom the ode is addressed to]" (Nisbet and Hubbard 1978: 148). Also Löfstedt (1933: 417) and Hofmann & Szantyr (1972: 83) explain this use as a Graecism, like the following *abstineto* + gen.

(2) c. Hor. *carm.* 3,27,69–70: ***'abstineto'/*** *dixit* ***'irarum callidaeque rixae***
"'curb your anger", she said, "and cool your ill temper"'

(ἀπέχου + gen.), Löfstedt (1933: 417), Hofmann & Szantyr (1972: 83f).[15] Moreover, the genitive with a similar meaning of disjunction seems to be a clear Graecism, as in Hor. *carm.* 3,17,16: *cum famulis* ***operum solutis*** 'with your slaves on holiday' (Brenous [1895: 109] excludes any analogy with the ancient formula in Cic. *leg.* 2,51: *is per aes et libram heredes* ***testamenti soluat*** 'he must free his heirs through *aes et libram* [a simulated sale of testator's property]',[16] but this does not persuade me, though I think that Graecism

15. On Horace's Graecism, see Ciancaglini (1997), but only the part dedicated to Horace (1997: 853–856); some linguistic differences are interesting. Ciancaglini (1997: 852) points out (following Janssen 1988: 117) that Graecisms are more frequent in Horace's *Odes* than in the *Satires* and *Epistles*. For a general introduction, see Kaimio (1979, ignored by Ciancaglini), which remains the richest and best survey of Graecisms in the Roman world.

16. See Gaius *inst.* 2,104: *in qua re* (sc.: *in mancipatione*) *his uerbis familiae emptor utitur: FAMILIAM PECUNIAMQUE TVAM ENDO MANDATELA TVA CVSTODELAQVE MEA* ESSE AIO, EAQVE, *QVO TV IVRE TESTAMENTVM FACERE POSSIS SECVNDVM LEGEM PVBLICAM, HOC AERE, et, ut quidam adiciunt, AENEAQVE LIBRA, ESTO MIHI EMPTA; deinde aere percutit libram idque aes dat testatori uelut pretii loco* 'in the mancipation the *familiae emptor* utters these words "I declare your *familia* to be subject to your directions and in my custody, and be it bought to [*sic*] me with this bronze piece

is not excluded, even if we accept the influence of the old formula, because Graecism is not necessarily excluded from old formulae.[17] Nevertheless, Brenous accepts the imitation of the Greek construction λύειν, κουφίζειν + genitive but does not exclude some influence of either archaic formulae or analogy in forming these Graecisms, as in Hor. *sat.* 2,3,27: *miror morbi purgatum te illius* 'I am astonished that you are freed from that vice', which can be compared with Hor. *carm.* 1,22,1: *sceleris purus* 'unstained by crime':

> Ces rapprochements sont très légitimes, si l'on veut montrer comment en latin déjà les voies étaient préparées aux constructions hardies dont il s'agit. Mais on ne saurait raisonnablement prétendre par là les dépouiller de leur vrai caractère qui est d'être grecques. (Brenous 1895 : 110)

(2) d. Hor. *carm.* 3,30,11–12: *Daunus agrestium* / ***regnauit populorum***
'Daunus ruled the country peoples'

In this respect, it is worth considering the opinion of Einar Löfstedt (1933: 416),

> Ist Hor. Carm. III 30,11 f. *Daunus agrestium regnauit populorum* ein Gräzismus (nach ἄρχειν, βασιλεύειν c. gen.), wie wohl die meisten Erklärer annehmen, oder etwa eine Analogiebildung zu *potior* mit Gen. (so Schmalz & Hofmann 1928: 408)? Ich glaube, man treibt auch in diesem Falle die Skepsis zu weit, wenn man den Gräzismus bezweifelt.

Moreover, Löfstedt substantiates his explanation by noting that, also in Late Latin, the genitive with verbs of domination is considered by Augustine to be a Graecism (*Locutiones de Genesi* 3: *implete terram et dominamini eius: Latina enim locutio est 'dominamini ei'* 'fill the earth and subdue it: the Latin

and" (as some add) "this bronze scale, to the end that you may be able to make a lawful will in accordance with the public statute". Then he strikes the scale with the bronze piece and gives it to the testator as the symbolic price' (trans. de Zulueta). See Calboli (1993: 226, 518ff).

17. This old formula remained in later inherited formulae, see Kaser (1971: 678ff.).

expression is ‘*dominamini ei* [instead of *eius*]’. Coleman (1975: 141) adds Min. Fel. 12,5: *fruuntur orbe toto uestrique dominantur* ‘the Romans have the use of all the world and dominion over you’ and *Vulg. Sap.* 3,8: *regnabit Dominus illorum* (βασιλεύσει αὐτῶν) ‘the Lord will reign over them’. I must mention that Hofmann & Szantyr (1972: 83) accepted the previous explanation by Schmalz & Hofmann (Hofmann & Szantyr is a new edition of the great Latin historical grammar by Schmalz & Hofmann) but distinguished between Enn. *ann.* 157: *qui se sperat Romae regnare quadratae* ‘how does he hope that he will be king at Square Rome’ (Timpanaro, *Maia* 3, 1950, 27f., explained it as a locative, and Hofmann & Szantyr are uncertain) and Hor. *carm* 3,30,12: *regnauit populorum*. The Ennius example is “umstritten”; the Horace, “sicher”.

(2) e. *Vet. Lat. Ioh.* 7,40: *de turba autem* ***audientes*** *eius* ***uerborum horum, dicebant*** (cod. Cantabrigiensis) = ἐκ τοῦ ὄχλου οὖν ἀκούσαντες τῶν λόγων τούτων ἔλεγον ‘when they heard these words, some in the crowd said’

f. *Vet. Lat. Ioh.* 12,47: *si quis audierit uerborum meorum* (Cantabrigiensis) = καὶ ἐάν τίς μου ἀκούσῃ τῶν ῥημάτων ‘if someone will hear my words’

ThLL II 1262.62f.: *genet. obiecti secundum Graecos apud christianos: Itala Luc.* 12,25; *Ioh.* 7,40; 12,47 (*cod.d*); *Dan.* 9,6 (Cypr. *de lapsu* 31: *notione oboediendi*); Aug. *gen. ad litt.* 18; *Vita Vedast.* 8. Another example of genitive dependent on *praeesse* is given by Lundström (1955: 225) from a Patristic text: *Hist. Ecclesiastica Tripartita* 9,12,5: *Macedonianorum … praeerat Eleusius Cyzici et Lampsaci Marcianus* ‘Eleusius had the command of the Macedonians at Cyzicum and Marcianus at Lampsacum’, to be compared with Socr. 5,8,5: τοῦ … Μακεδονιανῶν μέρους ἡγεῖτο μὲν Ἐλεύσιος ὁ Κυζίκος καὶ Μαρκιανὸς Λαμψάκου. Lundström does not exclude the possibility that this genitive was interpreted as a partitive but prefers to think that the author of *Hist. Ecclesiastica Tripartita* translated slavishly from the Greek. In any case, this is Medieval rather than Roman Latin.

Other verbs with the genitive instead of the accusative, perhaps under Greek influence, have been collected by Brenous (1895) and Hofmann & Szantyr (1972: 83).

2.1.2.4 Genitive of reference. Plaut. *Epid.* 138: ***desipiebam mentis*** 'I was out of my mind'. Brenous accepts Draeger's opinion that the genitive *mentis* must be explained as *animi* in *pendeo, angor animi* (Plaut. *Trin.* 454: *satis tu's sanus mentis aut animi tui* 'did you lose your wits, your mind'). These cases contain a genitive of reference ("des Sachbetreffs"), which is treated later, and I think that Brenous's explanation of *desipiebam mentis* is correct. On the other hand, I am not sure that the genitive of reference is a Graecism (or better, a complete Graecism), because the genitive of reference is common enough in Latin to guarantee Latin origin or Latin input to a more extended usage influenced by Greek (see below).

2.1.2.5 Genitive with gerundive (genitive of reference). I discuss a few issues involving phrasal syntax, starting with a construction involving the genitive case. That is the type *Germanicus Aegyptum* ***proficiscitur cognoscendae antiquitatis*** 'Germanicus started out for Egypt in order to know the antiquities (of this country)' (Tac. *ann.* 2,59,1), which has been studied independently by Robert Coleman (1975) and myself (Calboli 1975).

The genitive of the gerundive to express purpose does not appear in Latin before Terence (*Ad.* 269–270). It occurs a few times in Sallust and Tacitus and some other authors, but so rarely that it all but disappears in comparison with *causa*, 20 occurrences versus 345 in the statistical table presented by Steele (1898: 283).

(3) Ter. *Ad.* 269–270: *uereor coram in os te laudare amplius / ne id adsentandi mage quam quo habeam gratum facere existumes*
'I dare not praise you more to your face; you might take it for flattery instead of gratitude'

Actually, before Terence's example, the genitive of the gerund to express purpose already occurs in Plautus but depends on a noun and is therefore an attributive.

(4) a. Plaut. *Capt.* 153: *quia nunc remissus est edendi exercitus*
'because my commissary department has been disbanded'

b. Plaut. *Poen.* 32–34: *matronae tacitae spectent, tacitae rideant, / . . . /, domum* ***sermones fabulandi*** *conferant*
'matrons are to be in silence, laugh in silence, . . . , take their prattle home'

The first epigraphic example occurs in the *Lex Acilia Repetundarum* (123 BCE):

(5) *Lex repetund.* [CIL I^2 583, Bruns 55f.] 32: ***quod eius rei quaerundai*** *censeant refere*
'which they deem to be relevant to the matter of inquiry'

But here the genitive has probably been influenced by the verb *refer(r)e*, as Risch (1984: 143) pointed out.[18] This genitive of either the gerund or the gerundive was used five times by Sallust, but always in connection with a noun or the neuter of an adjective.

(6) a. Sall. *Catil.* 6,7: *regium imperium, quod initio conseruandae libertatis atque augendae rei publicae fuerat*
'the rule of the kings, which at first had tended to preserve freedom and advance the state'

b. Sall. *Iug.* 88,4: *quae, postquam gloriosa modo neque belli patrandi cognovit*
'but when he found that such exploits merely brought him glory, but did not tend to finish the war'

c. Sall. *or. Lep.* 8: *at ille* (sc. *Sulla*) *eo processit, ut nihil gloriosum nisi tutum et omnia retinendae dominationis honesta aestumet*
'however, he has sunk so low that he thinks nothing is glorious which is not safe, and regards every means of retaining his supremacy as honorable'

d. Sall. *or. Phil.* 3: *exercitum opprimundae libertatis habet*
'he has an army to suppress freedom'

18. Such influence can be only indirect because of the different sense: in the *refer(r)e* construction, it is true that the genitive is employed, but in this case, the person to whom something is of interest is expressed. Such interest is expressed with a neuter pronoun or with a clause.

e. Sall. *or. Phil.* 6: *quom priuata arma opprimundae libertatis cepisset*
'when he had taken up arms on his own responsibility to crush liberty'

f. Sall. *or. Phil.* 11: *quae* (sc. *arma ciuilia*) *ille aduorsum diuina et humana omnia cepit, non pro sua aut quorum simulat iniuria, sed legum ac libertatis subuortundae*
'and these arms he took up in defiance of all human and divine law, not in order to avenge his own wrongs or the wrongs of those whom he pretends to represent, but to overthrow our laws and our liberty'

In predicative function, the construction is also employed by Cicero, *Verr.* 2,132: *quae res euertendae rei publicae solent esse* 'things which usually bring a state to ruin', but in this case it may be a dative instead of a genitive, because the dative is sometimes used with this meaning. See, for example, Plaut. *Rud.* 1374: *iusiurandum rei seruandae non perdundae conditumst* 'swearing was invented to save property, not to destroy it', which has been considered a genitive by Vendryes (1910–1911: 255) and Raabe (1917: 34), while Hofmann & Szantyr (1972: 75) reject this opinion as actually "unstatthaft" (untenable) and consider it a dative. I agree with Hofmann & Szantyr.

Before Tacitus, the genitive of the gerund and gerundive to express purpose was employed in adjectival or predicative function many times, and even in adverbial fuction by the author of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, Livy (14),[19] Velleius Paterculus (2,20,5), and among the later historians, Ammianus Marcellinus (25,6,7), Aurelius Victor (*Caes.* 15,4), and the author of *de Viris Illustribus* (2,6), but "later writers seem to have avoided using the construction", as Steele (1898: 270) remarked. Tacitus used the genitive of the gerund and gerundive eleven times: *hist.* 2,100,3; 4,25,2; 4,42,1; *ann.* 2,59,1; 3,7,1; 3,9,2;

19. I provide Livy's passages where this construction occurs by taking them from my unpublished linguistic commentary on the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* as well as all the material for the genitive of purpose without *causa* (e.g., *CIL* X 9 *conseruo pietatis fecit* 'he made (this monument) in honor of a fellow-slave dutifully'): Liv. 3,24,1; 3,31,7; 3,39,8; 4,30,10; 5,3,5; 8,6,11; 9,9,19; 9,45,18; 27,9,12; 34,54,5; 36,27,2; 38,50,8; 39,16,9; 40,29,11.

3,27,1; 3,41,3; 6,30,1; 12,24,1; 13,11,2. I give only a few examples, where, in particular, the difference between Tacitus's and Sallust's usage is worth pointing out.

(7) a. *Rhet. Her.* 1,16,26: *cum dicat Orestes se patris ulciscendi matrem occidisse*
'when Orestes says that he killed his mother to avenge his father'

b. Liv. 3,24,1: *clamant fraude fieri quod foris teneatur exercitus; frustrationem eam legis tollendae esse*
'(the tribunes) cried out that the army was dishonestly kept afield; a trick intended to frustrate the passage of the law'

c. Liv. 8,6,11: *placuit auerruncandae deum irae uictimas caedi*
'they resolved that victims should be slain to turn away the wrath of Heaven'

d. Liv. 9,45,18: *ut Marrucini … mitterent Romam oratores pacis petendae amicitiaeque*
'so that the Marrucini sent ambassadors to Rome to sue for peace and friendship'

e. Tac. *hist.* 4,25,2: *tum e seditiosis unum uinciri iubet, magis usurpandi iuris, quam quia unius culpa foret*
'then he ordered a single one of the mutineers to be arrested, rather to vindicate his authority than because the fault was that of an individual'

f. Tac. *ann.* 2,59,1: *Germanicus Aegyptum proficiscitur cognoscendae antiquitatis*
'Germanicus starts out for Egypt in order to know the antiquities (of this country)'

g. Tac. *ann.* 3,27,1: *pulso Tarquinio aduersum patrum factiones multa populus parauit tuendae libertatis et firmandae concordiae*
'upon the expulsion of Tarquin, the commons, to check senatorial factions, framed a large number of regulations for the protection of their liberties or the establishment of concord'

h. Tac. *ann.* 3,41,3: *spectatus et Sacrouir intecto capite pugnam pro Romanis ciens, ostentandae, ut ferebat, virtutis*
'Sacrovir himself was there, a conspicuous figure, urging his men

to strike for Rome, and bare-headed to let his courage be seen, as he said'

i. Tac. *ann.* 13,11,2: *crebris orationibus, quas Seneca testificando, quam honesta praeciperet, uel iactandi ingenii uoce principis uulgabat*
'in a series of speeches, which Seneca, either to attest the exalted qualities of his teaching or to advertise his ingenuity, kept presenting to the public in the voice of the sovereign'

As we can see, some examples are clearly adverbial like (7a), (7b), and (7f), whereas some others may be interpreted as adnominal (7c)–(7d) [*oratores pacis petendae*], (7g) [*multa … tuendae libertatis*], (7h) [*pugnam … ostentandae uirtutis*]. In any case, in Tacitus the adverbial use, which is a clear correspondence to the Greek construction τοῦ + infinitive, is the more frequent one. Now the question arises as to how and in what kind of function the equivalent construction occurs in Greek. However, before we take Greek into account, we must consider further Latin data.

First, we must remember that this use is Italic, occurring also in Umbrian, in particular in one of the Iguvine Tables; second, that sacred and juridical language presents some examples of this usage; third, that such a construction is directly connected with a genitive of purpose without *causa* or *gratia*, which occurs in epigraphic titles in perfect parallel with Greek, where the same genitive can be found without χάριν. The construction must therefore be considered from the points of view of Italic and, possibly, Indo-European heritage; of juridical language; and of Vulgar Latin in connection with Greek.[20] We find two examples in the sixth Table of Iguvium, which was written quite late, at the beginning of the first century BCE (see Ancillotti and Cerri 1996:

20. Several expressions borrowed from Greek and introduced into the Latin "Umgangssprache" have been collected by Hofmann ([1978] quoted here from the Italian translation and supplement by Ricottilli [1985: 128 (*attatae*), 130 (*bombax*, *pax*), 131ff. (*(h)eia*), 133 (*euge*), 134 (*euax*), 138 (*ecastor*, *mecastor*), 145 (*en*), 151 (*apage*), 191 (*ut quid?*), 217 (*sacrilege*), 218 (*parricida*, *bustirape*, *cucule*, *carcer*), 278 (*tibi dico*), 358 (*fu*), 362 (*quid ais?*), 363 (*scin?*)]). Most of these expressions occur in Plautus and Terence and in Greek comedy. The connection with the Greek is, therefore, very easy to establish, but the use is perhaps limited to the language of comedy or that close to comedy.

274). I provide the text and the Italian translation recently proposed by Ancillotti and Cerri (1996: 298) in (8).

(8) a. *Tab. Iguv.* VI a, 8: *uerfale*[1] *pufe*[2] *arsfertur*[3] *trebeit*[4] *ocrer*[5] *peihaner*[6] *erse*[7] *stahmito*[8] *eso*[9] / *tuderato*[10] *est*[11]
'il luogo consacrato[1] dove[2] l'officiante[3] si dispone[4] per la purificazione della Rocca [per purificare[6] la Rocca[5]], nel modo come lì[7] stabilito[8], è[11] così[9] delimitato[10]'

b. *Tab. Iguv.* VI b, 48: *sururo*[1] *stiplatu*[2] *pusi*[3] *ocrer*[4] *pihaner*[5]
'parimenti[1] formuli l'impegno[2] allo stesso modo che[3] per la purificazione[4] della Rocca[5]'

As for Indo-European, Vendryes (1910–1911) found some examples of Vedic infinitives in the genitive case with a purpose meaning, as had already been observed by Speyer (1896: 65). However, this use disappeared from Classical Sanskrit, whereas, in Vendryes' opinion, the genitive of the gerund and gerundive continued this very old use in Latin. I would be more cautious, but I accept the possibility that this construction could be very old. As a matter of fact, an old formula in the *Acta Fratrum Arvalium* is repeated many times.

(9) a. *Act. Arv*. a.118 [*CIL* VI 2078] I 60f.: *immolavit porcas piaculares duas luci coinquendi et operis faciundi* (written in Hadrianic times)
'he immolated two expiatory sows to cut off the grove and make a building'

Genitive and dative are confused in (9b).

(9) b. *Act. Arv.* a.120 [*CIL* VI 2080] 36f.: *C. Vitorius Hosidius Geta mag*(*ister*) *ad aram immolauit porcas piaculares duas luco coinquiendo et operis faciundi* (written in Hadrianic times)
'C. Vitorius Hosidius Geta, the master, immolated two expiatory sows to cut off the grove and to make a building'

In (9c), the genitive occurs with and without *causa*.

(9) c. *Act. Arv.* a.183 [*CIL* VI 32386 ad n.2099] II 7f.: *Q. Licinius Nepos mag*(*ister*) *operis perfecti causa, quod arboris eruendae*

et aedis refectae, immolauit suovetaurilibus maioribus (written in the time of Commodus)
'Q. Licinius Nepos, the master, immolated a swine, a sheep, and a bull, all adult, in order to accomplish a work, which was to uproot a tree and to rebuild a house'

Example (9c) strengthens the explanation given by Coleman (1975: 129), who after quoting the Umbrian and Arval passages writes:

> It is unlikely, to say the least, that the Atiedian Brothers at Gubbio were imitating Thucydides or Menander, or that the Arval Brothers at Rome were influenced by Sallust. This looks in fact very like the preservation in a specialized technical register of an archaic idiom common to the Italic languages.

However, Aalto (1949: 118) believes that Oscan-Umbrian gerundives came from Latin, an opinion which has been confirmed, albeit more cautiously, by Risch (1984: 168).[21] It is true that this reduces the probability of a literary origin and, therefore, of influence from Greek authors, but we cannot forget that the texts of Arvalian Acts were written at a later time. In any case, allowing for the formulaic nature of these texts, the differences between (9a), (9b), and (9c) show that the formulae could be changed by using *causa* and the dative. I am not saying that a previous version of this formula could occur with *causa*, but only that the formula is not completely reliable from a linguistic point of view.

The jurists are not unaware of this construction, though the number of examples is not very consequential. Nevertheless, it is worth mentioning:

21. Aalto (1949: 118) writes: "M. E. sprechen alle Tatsachen dafür, dass die oskisch-umbrischen Gerundiva, wie wahrscheinlich viele andere syntaktische Züge dieser Sprachen, aus dem Lateinischen entlehnt sein können", and Risch (1984: 168): "Das Umbrische bietet (wahrscheinlich) ebenfalls Beispiele für prädikativen Zusatz, außerdem für eine Gerundivkonstruktion im bloßen Genetivus "causae". Da alle diese Belege zeitlich etwa in die lateinische Übergangszeit fallen, ist ein gewisser lateinischer Einfluß nicht nur möglich, sondern wahrscheinlich."

(10) a. Iulian. *dig.* 40,9,5: *non potest uideri fraudandorum creditorum liberos esse iussisse*
'it doesn't appear that freedom has been given to the slaves in order to defraud the creditors'
b. Paul. *dig.* 40,7,38: *quod impediendae libertatis factum est*
'that which has been made to prevent a manumission'
c. Ulp. *dig.* 22,1,21: *si amicos adhibendos debitor requirat uel* ***expediendi debiti uel fideiussoribus rogandis***
'if a debtor asks to call friends in order to be freed from obligation or to provide bail'

In (10c), the combination of genitive and dative occurs to express a purpose, as observed above.

In Greek, the infinitive without article was already employed to express either a cause or a purpose by Homer. Ernout (1946: 208–210) collected many examples and showed that the construction τοῦ + infinitive was widely expanded in Attic Greek and frequently employed by Attic authors, in particular Thucydides, but also Plato, Xenophon, Lycurgus, Lysias, Demosthenes, and Menander. In Thucydides, it occurs twelve times and in Menander at least three times (Ἐπιτρέποντες 523–524 and 527, Περικειρομένη 55–57). It was also later employed by Polybius (1,12,6) and in the Old and New Testaments (LXX *Gen.* 16,2, 18,7, *Matth.* 13,3) and in papyri. I give a few examples, in particular the three by Menander because they have been quoted inaccurately by Ernout.[22]

(11) a. (i) Thuc. 1,4: (Μίνως) τό τε λῃστικόν, ὡς εἰκός, καθῄρει ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης ἐφ' ὅσον ἐδύνατο, τοῦ τὰς προσόδους μᾶλλον ἰέναι αὐτῷ
'piracy, too, he (Minos) naturally tried to clear from the sea, as far as he could, desiring that his revenues should come to him more readily'

22. See Kühner & Gerth (1955: 40ff.), Schwyzer & Debrunner (1959: 372), Mayser (1926–1934: 322ff.), and Aalto (1953: 45–74) concerning the Old Testament examples in comparison with the Hebrew text.

(ii) Thuc. 2,93,4: καὶ φρούριον ἐπ' αὐτοῦ ἦν καὶ νεῶν τριῶν φυλακὴ τοῦ μὴ ἐσπλεῖν Μεγαρεῦσι μηδὲ ἐκπλεῖν μηδέν
'there was a fort here and a guard of three ships to prevent anything from entering or leaving the harbor of the Megarians'

b. (i) Men. *Epit.* 523f.: ἃ δ' ἂν λέγῃ / προσομολογήσω τοῦ διαμαρτεῖν μηδὲ ἓν / προτέρα λέγουσα
'I'll just back up his statements to avoid mistakes through speaking first' (trans. Arnott)

(ii) *Epit.* 526–527: τὰ κοινὰ ταυτὶ δ' ἀκκιοῦμαι τῷ λόγῳ / τοῦ μὴ διαμαρτεῖν
'to avoid mistakes, I'll flatter him with platitudes like this' (trans. Arnott)

(iii) *Perik.* 175–177 (55–57): καὶ συνηγμένοι / εἰς ταὐτόν εἴσιν οἱ συνήθεις, τοῦ φέρειν / αὐτὸν τὸ πρᾶγμα ῥᾶιον
'his friends have mustered there together, just to help him soldier through this business with less pain' (trans. Arnott)

c. *Matth.* 13,3: Ἰδοὺ ἐξῆλθεν ὁ σπείρων τοῦ σπείρειν
ecce, exiit qui seminat seminare
'listen, a sower went forth to sow'

It seems, therefore, that this construction is widespread in Greek, perhaps as a development of the infinitive of purpose which already occurs in Homer. Another use of the genitive of purpose, but without infinitive, gerund, or gerundive, occurs in epigraphic dedications in both Greek and Latin.

(12) a. IG II^2 12644: φιλανδρίας .. ἀνέστησεν
'she built it out of wifely affection'

b. CIL X 9: *conservo pietatis fecit*
'he has made it for a fellow-slave out of respect'

Priscian's explanation of these genitives, as well as the genitive of the gerund and gerundive of purpose, is that *causa* or ἕνεκα were omitted (*praetermissione*), see Prisc. *gramm*. III 310,19. On the other hand, that the two uses of the genitive, with noun or with gerund or gerundive, were connected may be confirmed by an interesting example in which both types occur.

(13) Fronto 3,21: *namque hoc genus orationis non capitis defendendi nec suadendae legis nec exercitus adhortandi nec inflammandae contionis scribitur, sed facetiarum et uoluptatis*
'for this kind of discourse is not meant as a speech for the defence in a criminal trial, nor to carry a law, nor to hearten an army, nor to impassion the multitude, but for pleasantry and amusement' (trans. Haines)

I have previously demonstrated that this construction was also expanded in Vulgar Greek and Latin in the form of the genitive "des Sachbetreffs", which is confirmed by the papyri (Calboli 1975: 157–163). However, Mayser (1926–1934: 322) excluded the use of the genitive of the gerund and gerundive in Ptolemaic papyri.[23] This means that with the more complex form of genitive of the gerund and gerundive, the construction was too complicated for the vulgar language, and the simple genitive was generally employed.

Now we have all the elements necessary to evaluate the two possible explanations: first, that Terence's, Sallust's, and Tacitus's genitive of the gerund and gerundive was inherited in Latin and came from an old formula of sacral and juridical language, as was originally suggested by Löfstedt, later by Ernout, and more recently by Coleman; or second, that it was a Graecism, as in Löfstedt's later version. My answer is that it is a clear Graecism wherever two conditions are satisfied: first, that the Latin author is directly connected with a Greek one, as are Terence, Sallust, and Tacitus; and second, that any substantive on which the genitive of the gerundive could depend is absent. But, in any case, it was a special kind of Graecism, both because it was connected with the genitive of reference ("des Sachbetreffs"), and because it also continued the early use of the infinitive to express purpose. Some formulaic aspects played a role in conserving it in sacred and juridical language, but here it was strongly challenged by the dative of the gerund and gerundive, and also by the construction with *causa*, with these three types sometimes appearing together. This fact, and the fact that this use of the genitive of the gerund and gerundive without *causa* as the construction corresponding to

23. Mayser (1926–1934: 322) writes: "Zwar findet sich für die bei Thukydides, Demosthenes, Platon und Xenophon (namentlich mit μή) geläufige rein finale Bedeutung in den ptolem. Papyri kein Beleg".

τοῦ + infinitive in Greek seems to be absent in the vulgar language, while the simple genitive of reference is present, lead me to believe that the genitive of the gerund and gerundive is a rather literary expression employed by literate people as embellishment, and borrowed from Greek authors for this purpose. The facts that it occurs in Terence, who translated and rearranged Menander's comedies (four of Terence's six plots are from Menander and the other two, the *Hecyra* and the *Phormio*, are from Apollodurus of Charistos, a pupil of Menander), and that Sallust and Tacitus were inspired by Thucydides, lead me to believe that it is to be considered a Graecism. A different view can be developed for Livy and for the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* (see (7) above). In both cases, the formulaic tradition of sacred and juridical language may have reinforced a usage which was, nevertheless, mostly a Graecism. My explanation, therefore, is close to that of Löfstedt (1942), with the difference that I try to distinguish between the different kinds of language and the different authors; and I do not exclude the influence of Graecism and Old Latin together in a proportion which must be decided for each author individually.

2.1.2.6 Genitive with adjective. The genitive with an adjective has been studied by Brenous (1895: 121–141), who collected many examples. I give only those examples that are certain, but most uses must be ascribed, in my opinion, to the genitive of reference and therefore are only reinforced, not caused, by Graecism. Brenous (1895: 125) observes that the number of adjectives employed under Greek influence in early times was 73, in Augustan times 175, and later 189. Sallust initiated this use, and we register: *frugum uacuus* 'stripped of their crops' (Sall. *Iug.* 90,1; Krebs and Schmalz 1907: 711 with bibl.); *aeger consili* 'infirm in purpose' (Sall. *hist.* 4,73); *ThLL* I 940,71, but the author of the *ThLL* entry explains this instance like some others with *animi* (Liv. 1,58,9; 2,36,4; et al.) as a *casus locativus* [*c. loc.*], which was perhaps used in the earliest period but not in the time of Sallust; Hofmann & Szantyr (1972: 75) exclude the locative and explain this genitive as a genitive of reference "des Sachbetreffs"; the same can be said of *dubius consili* 'uncertain in purpose' (*hist.* 3,81) (Hofmann & Szantyr 1972: 78), *immodicus animi* 'immoderate in his aspirations' (*hist.* 1,150), *anxius animi* 'anxious in his mind' (4,68), *impotens at nimius animi* 'not master at all of himself' (*hist.* 4,73), *loca … nuda gignentium* (*Iug.* 79,6), *sollers omnium* (*Iug.* 96,1) (Hofmann & Szantyr 1972: 78), *promptus belli* (*hist.* 2,12), *pri-*

uos militiae (*hist.* 1,78), *atrox animi* (*hist.* 2,74), *exterritus animi* (*hist.* 4,49), *firmatus animi* (*hist.* 3,17), *ingens ipse uirium atque animi* (*hist.* 3,91), *laetus frugum pabulique* (*hist.* 2,91). The number was increased by Livy, but we can see that the expression *animi* was employed frequently, and this proves that the genitive *animi* played an important role in this usage (see Hofmann & Szantyr 1972: 75).

The genitive with a comparative (Brenous 1895: 140), as in Plin. *nat.* 7,30 (31) 117: (*M. Tulli*) *omnium triumphorum lauream adepte maiorem* 'M.Tullius, you who have been crowned with a laurel greater than all triumphs'; Apul. *met.* 8,27: *sui fieri meliores* 'to become better than himself'; and Apul. *Plat.* 2,17: *grauius est acerbissimorum malorum carere medicina* 'it is worse than the greatest diseases not having a remedy', is considered a Graecism by Brenous and Löfstedt (1933: 425), and Löfstedt gives this explanation because this genitive is used by Apuleius, a writer under Greek influence. However, such an explanation is excluded by Hofmann & Szantyr (1972: 112f.), for the reason that this genitive also occurs in vulgar inscriptions (Konjetzny 1908: 125, 314) and in *Itala* (with *maior, minor, plus, peior* 16 examples, only 3 in the Vulgate, *gen.* 26,16, *Iob* 12,3, 13,2). It seems to me that Hofmann & Szantyr are closer to the right explanation, and even more if we think that Apuleius himself was not exempt from *sermo cotidianus* (see Callebat 1968: 548–552).

2.1.2.7 Genitive of time. Adams (2003: 509–511) gives three examples of a genitive of time: the first dated 130 CE: *CEL*[24] Cugusi 150, corresponding to *ChLA*[25] 3,203: *alae uetrane galliga, turma Donaciani, Serenus procurator conductoribus fenalis salute, accipi fenum contur*[*m*]*alibus meis* ***mensis Iuni*** *et paulum s*[*ustu*]*li per me et tibi fiunt eccutes triginti* 'Serenus, superintendent of the Gallian veteran wing, Donacian squadron, greets the lessees of our capitals. I received the interest of the month of July for my comrades. I took little money for myself and the amount on your account is thirty scudi'; the second and third both dated 7 October 167 CE: *CEL* Cugusi 156; *ChLA* 3,204: *miserat mi*[*hi*] *Cornelius* [*G*]*ermanus procurator meus quas has res*

24. *CEL* = Cugusi (1992–2002).
25. *ChLA* = Bruckner (1954–).

[*i*]*ntra scriptas meas, salbas, sanas recepisse scripsi* ***nonarum Octobrium*** *ad Puluinos, ad statione Liburnes 'Fides' interueniente Minucium Plotianum triarchum et Apuleium Nepotem scriba. actum Puluinos nonis Octobris* 'Cornelius Germanus, my superintendent, sent me the things below mentioned which I received in good condition as I wrote 7 October to Pulvinum [an unidentified place], at the wharf where the brigantine "Fides" was moored, while the captain, Minucius Plotianus, and the public scribe Apuleius Nepos were present. Dated from Pulvinum 7 October'; *CEL* Cugusi 157; *ChLA* 1,12: *scripsi me recepisse res s(upra) s(criptas)* [*a Corneli*]*o Germ*[*a*]*no cuius* [*e*]*xemplum epistules habio. actum Puluinos* ***nonar*[*u*]*m Octobrium*** *isdem co*[*ns*]*ulibus* 'I wrote that I received from Cornelius Germanus, as from the copy I have, the above-mentioned things. Dated from Pulvinum 7 October of the same year [167 CE]'.

It is not difficult to recognize a Graecism here, following Adams, who points out that these examples are "evidence for the Latin usage of bilingual Greeks familiar with colloquial Latin" (Adams 2003: 511). But these are examples of spoken language, so this is a matter of Graecism in Vulgar rather than formal Latin. Moreover, the examples are late, and no earlier supposed genitive of time in Latin, as suggested by Sommer (1937: 269f.), is certain (cf. Hofmann & Szantyr 1972: 85). This confirms the strange nature of these examples. Some other cases of the *genitivus temporis* are quoted by Galdi (2004: 419f.): *ILI* (*Inscr. Lat. Iugoslavia*) 2217: *accepi supremi temporis a te mandatu posui* 'I have been charged by you at the end of your life (to erect this monument) and I did it'; already Celsus 8,6,2: *abstinentia primi temporis necessaria est* 'at the beginning abstinence is necessary'.

Another kind of Graecism acknowledged by Adams (2003: 512) is the genitive of filiation, such as *IG Bulg.* II 600: *Agathadorus Diophanis vivos sibi* [*f*(*aciendum*)] *curauit*, which would correspond, in Adams's opinion, to: Ἀγαθόδωρος Διοφάνου Νεικεὺς ζῶν καὶ φρονῶν ἑαυτῷ ἐποίησεν ἀνεξοδίαστον.

Not very different is the genitive of exclamation, which is accepted as a Graecism by Brenous (1895: 141) and Löfstedt (1959: 417f.) but rejected by Hofmann & Szantyr (1972: 85) in Plautus (*Most.* 912: *di immortales, mercimoni lepidi* 'ye immortal gods, what a lovely bargain', *Truc.* 409: *o mercis malae* 'ah, some wicked work', Catull. 9,5: *o mihi nuntii beati* 'oh, happy news for me') but accepted in Christian and later writers, such as Clem. *ad*

Cor. 53,5: *o magnae caritatis, o perfectae caritatis* 'O great charity, O, perfect charity', corresponding to Greek ὦ μεγάλης ἀγάπης, ὦ τελειότητος ἀνυπερβλήτου 'O, great love, O, excellent perfection'. In this case too, the Graecism is more easily accepted for the later usages. I suspect, but without much conviction, that the great expansion of Classical Latin rather obscured Graecisms in Old Latin writers.

2.1.3 Dative

2.1.3.1 Dative with verbs of fighting and struggling. According to Brenous (1895: 145), datives with verbs of fight and struggle against somebody or something begin with Catullus.

(14) a. Catull. 62,64: *noli pugnare duobus*
'do not contend against both (of us)'
(this use is labeled by Della Corte [1977: 299] "calco sintattico greco")

b. Verg. *Aen.* 4,38: *placitone etiam pugnabis amori*
'will you wrestle also with love that pleases'
(*ecl.* 5,8: *montibus in nostris solus tibi certat Amyntas* [*ThLL* III 894,50–895,20])

c. Hor. *carm.* 1,1,15: *luctantem Icariis fluctibus Africum*
'when a gale from Africa fights with the Icarian waves' (trans. Rudd)

d. Hor. *carm.* 1,3,12–13: *Africum / decertantem Aquilonibus*
'the Southwester as it fought with the northern blasts' (trans. Rudd)

e. Hor. *carm.* 2,6,15–16: *uiridique certat / baca uenafro*
'the olive rivals green Venafrum' (trans. Rudd)

Hofmann & Szantyr (1972: 87) connect this usage with a similar dative with *iungo* and the like:

> An *iungo* schlossen sich früh die Verba der feindlichen Berührung (des Kämpfens) an bei Plt. (*Bacch.* 967: *pugnam conserui seni*; *Trin.* 839: *aerumnis deluctaui*), Lucr., Catull., den Augusteern sowie in der nachklassischen Prosa (z. B. *certo* c. dat. Dichter seit Verg., Prosaiker seit Plin. *epist.* 8,8,4).

I believe this assumption is correct, so this is only a semi-Graecism. This opinion is shared also by Brenous, who gives many examples, mentions that Theocritus used such a dative and could have influenced Virgil (cf. Theocr. *Id.* 1,136: κὴξ ὀρέων τοὶ σκῶπες ἀηδόνι γαρύσαιντο 'and from the mountains let the owls cry to nightingales', 5,136–137: οὐ θεμιτόν, Λάκων, ποτ' ἀηδόνα κίσσας ἐρπίσδειν / οὐδ' ἔποπας κύκνοισι 'Lacon, it is not right for jays to contend with nightingales, nor hoopoes with swans', 25,82: οὐκ ἄν οἱ θηρῶν τις ἐδήρισεν περὶ τιμῆς 'no beast could vie with him for credit' [trans. Gow]), and concludes that, when all features are taken into account:

> Ce moyen d'expression, simple et bref, convenait au langage de la poésie, qui se passe volontiers de tout ce qui ralentit et surcharge inutilement le discours ... Il faut ajouter l'influence des verbes composés sur les verbes simples de même sens, et aussi les exigences du mètre. Mais les emplois que nous avons examinés sont hellénisants en ce sens que l'analogie seule n'aurait vraisemblablement pas produit si tôt, ni dans une telle proportion, des tournures qui sont naturelles dans la langue grecque, tandis qu'elles s'écartent du type de la prose latine classique. (Brenous 1895: 148)

2.1.3.2 Dative with expressions of similarity. The pronoun *idem* is construed with the dative, and this construction is considered a Graecism by Brenous (1895: 152f.), who writes that, though inner-Latin development is not excluded, Greek influence is more probable in cases such as Hor. *ars* 467: *inuitum qui seruat idem facit occidenti* 'he who saves someone against his own will does the same as killing him' (a singular spondaic hexameter constructed by Horace to adapt the meter to the folly of the poet Empedocles who sprang into the Aetna, *ardentem frigidus Aetnam insiluit* 'he sprang insensibly into the burning Aetna', see Calboli [2004a: 183f.]), compared with Xen. *Anab.* 3,1,27: ἐν ταὐτῷ γε μέντοι ἦσθα τούτοις 'you were present, surely, with these (officers)' and with the first Latin example: Lucr. 3,1037–1038: *Homerus / ... eadem aliis sopitus quietest* 'Homer has fallen into the same sleep as the rest' (Bailey). This passage by Horace has been accepted as a Graecism by Rostagni (1946: 131) and Brink (1971: 430), but outright denied by Hofmann & Szantyr (1972: 92) ("kaum Gräzismus"). The metrical strangeness which Horace wanted to point out would have been obscured by the prevailing rules of Graecism.

The dative with some verbs like *adsequi*, *consequi* in Christian writers is explained as a pure Graecism by Lundström (1955: 236) and Hofmann & Szantyr (1972: 89) (see also Rönsch 1965 [1875]: 439): *Vulg. Luc.* 1,3: *adsecuto a principio omnibus diligenter*, παρηκολουθηκότι ἄνωθεν πᾶσιν ἀκριβῶς 'after investigating everything carefully from the very first', *Marc.* 1,36: *consecutus est ei* (pr.m.) *Simon et qui cum illo erant*, καὶ κατεδίωξεν αὐτὸν Σίμων καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ 'and Simon and his companions hunted for him'. A Graecism is recognized by Hofmann & Szantyr (1972: 100) in the construction by Sallust, *Iug.* 100,4: *uti militibus exaequatus labor uolentibus esset,* which has been modeled on the Greek βουλομένῳ μοί ἐστιν. Brenous (1895: 189–191) devotes some attention to the construction *est mihi aliquid uolenti* and points out that this type was introduced by Sallust and then employed by Livy and Tacitus as a substitute for the Ciceronian expression *mihi gratum, exoptatum, iucundum est*. The models for Sallust (and perhaps for Livy and Tacitus) were Thucydides and Demosthenes, for example: Thuc. 7,35,2: εἶπον ούκ ἂν σφίσι βουλομένοις εἶναι διὰ τῆς γῆς σφῶν τὸν στρατὸν ἰέναι '(the Crotoniates) sent word to them that their army could not go through their territory without their consent'; Dem. 18,11: ἂν βουλομένοις ἀκούειν ᾖ τουτοισί, μνησθήσομαι 'if these people want to hear, I will remind them of (it)'.

2.1.3.3 Dative of agent. A line of Horace suffices to reveal the connection between the dative with past passive participle and the gerundive, and the influence of gerundive constructions on increased use of the agentive dative: Hor. *epist.* 1,1f.: *prima dicte mihi, summa dicende Camena … Maecenas* 'O Maecenas, who have been invoked at the beginning of my poetry and will be invoked at the end' (Sen. *epist.* 8,8: *quae philosophis aut dicta sunt aut dicenda* 'what has been said or must be said by the philosophers'), where the dative *mihi* must be taken ἀπὸ κοινοῦ (Mayer 1994: 87). It is uncertain whether this is a real Graecism. Hofmann & Szantyr (1972: 96f.) do not refer this to Hellenism, and Brenous himself recognizes only a partial Graecism:

> L'extension du datif, d'abord régulièrement construit avec le gérondif, au participe et aux modes du parfait passif a dû se faire en partie sous l'influence grecque, en partie grâce à l'affinité du participe parfait avec le gérondif et avec l'adjectif. (Brenous 1895: 167)

Confirmation is found in the fact that this dative increased in use from the time of Catullus to Roman poetry of the Classical age: Vergil used it about 60 times, Horace 40, Propertius 20, and Ovid more than 300 times (Brenous 1895: 169). Therefore, Brenous believes that some uses of the agentive dative can be traced back to Greek: Verg. *ecl.* 1,53–54: *saepes / Hyblaeis apibus florem depasta salicti* 'the hedge whose willow blossoms are sipped by Hybla's bees', Verg. *Aen.* 1,440: *neque cernitur ulli* 'and he isn't seen by anybody', Hor. *epist.* 1,19,2: *carmina … quae scribuntur aquae potoribus* 'the poems which are written by water-drinkers', Ov. *met.* 8,811: *aura petebatur medio mihi lenis in aestu* 'I wooed the breeze blowing gently on me in my labor's rest', *met.* 14,236: *uixque fuga quaesita salus comitique mihique* 'one comrade and myself by flight barely reached a place of safety', *met.* 14,669–670: *Helene non pluribus esset / sollicitata procis* 'you would have more suitors than even Helen had'.

As for the use of this dative by Ovid, note Brenous's observation concerning not only this case, but the Greek influence on Ovid's language as a whole:

> Quant à Ovide, qui emploie presque plus souvent le datif que la préposition 'a' pour exprimer l'auteur de l'action, il importe de remarquer que le plus grand nombre des exemples se trouve dans les Métamorphoses, c'est-à-dire dans celle de ses oeuvres où il s'écarte le plus de la langue des meilleures écrivains, prenant non seulement ses fables, mais parfois aussi ses façons de parler aux sources greques. (Brenous 1895: 175)

Nonetheless, Ovid's *Metamorphoses* is strongly influenced by Greek authors, in particular Alexandrians, as shown by Lafaye (1904):

> Par la conception générale les *Métamorphoses* se rattachent à une série de poèmes, où il est difficile de ne pas voir des productions de décadence ; Ovide leur doit même probablement une partie de sa matière ; mais dans l'exécution il nous paraît avoir rivalisé surtout avec les écrivains, qui par des mérites divers avaient eu le plus de séduction pour leur contemporaines et pour la postérité, et par la il faut entendre non seulement Homère, Sophocle, Euripide, mais Callimaque, Théocrite, Apollonius, Hermésianax et Phanoclès. La part des Alexandrins est donc encore considérable, même dans l'exécution ; les *Métamorphoses* sont, parmi les poèmes du siècle d'Auguste, un de ceux où cette influence a laissé la trace la plus profonde. (Lafaye 1904: 239)

Peters (1908: 92) calls Ovid an Alexandrian poet ("etiam Ovidius, quem equidem multis rebus, non omni ex parte in numero poetarum Alexandrinorum duco"). Therefore, it seems to me that the idea that Ovid was strongly influenced in the wider use of this dative by the Graecism of the *Metamorphoses* is a feasible hypothesis. The Christian writers give some examples of this dative used by Greek historians writing in Latin, such as Ammianus Marcellinus (Brenous 1895: 181; Hassenstein 1877: 12: "idem usus [dativus verbis adiunctus passivis, si praesertim participia et verba adsint composita], quippe qui congruat cum Graeco dicendi genere, invenitur apud Ammianum"); 20,4,7: *barbarisque iam formidatos* '(troops) already formidable for the barbarians'; 23,6,28: *Parthis, quibus vincitur solis* 'the Parthians, by whom alone it is surpassed'; 25,4,3: *ut ne suspicione quidem tenus citerioris uitae ministris incusaretur* 'that even his most confidential attendants never accused him even of a suspicion'; 28,1,24: *multa … omnibus timeri sunt coepta*; 28,1,43: (*res*) *ministris velut apparitoribus gerebantur* 'they were done by those same subordinates – I might say "attendants"'; 30,8,4: *actus impleret, Graecis auctoribus celebratos* 'he accomplished many noteworthy deeds, which are celebrated by the Greek writers'; 31,11,3: *quo per fraudem Magnentiacis militibus capto* 'when the troops of Magnentius had captured him by treachery'. However, Graecism is excluded in two examples by Greg. Tur., *Franc.* 2,23: *cui similiter in secessum fuerunt interna deposita* 'who in a similar way emptied out his intestines in the lavatory'; *Mart.* 46: *sermo de his quibusdam religiosis est habitus* 'something was said on this subject by some clergymen' (cf. Bonnet 1890: 547).

2.1.3.4 Dative of purpose and movement. I cannot forget the words of Gustav Landgraf at the beginning of the fifth section of his master's thesis on the Latin dative:

> Der Dativ hat nicht von Haus aus die Bedeutung des Zweckes, was Scaliger und viele andere Gelehrte angenommen haben; vielmehr ist auch, wo die Erklärer einen sogenannten D. finalis annehmen, von der Grundbedeutung dieses Kasus (oben S. 39) auszugehen. (Landgraf 1893: 55)

On page 39, we find the following general explanation of this case:

> Während noch in der ersten Hälfte unseres Jahrhunderts der Dativ den sogen. Lokalisten, wie Hartung, als der Kasus der Ortsruhe auf die Frage Wo? galt, bezeichnete ihn Delbrück in seiner Abhandlung De usu dativi in carminibus Rigvedae (Kuhns Zeitschr. XVIII 81f.) als den Wohinkasus; doch ist er in den Syntakt. Forschungen IV 37f. eher geneigt, ihn mit Hübschmann (Kasuslehre S. 213) als rein grammatischen Kasus aufzufassen, als Kasus des beteiligten Gegenstandes, des Gegenstandes, dem die Aussage oder Handlung gilt. Auch uns bezeichnet der Dativ die Beziehung einer Handlung zunächst auf eine Person, dann auch auf eine Sache.

I prefer not to address the question here of the nature of the dative (for which see Calboli 1975: 115–219). However, I would like to express my reluctance to deny all validity to a localistic theory, largely because such a theory has been accepted for some cases, such as the ablative, accusative, and dative, even by so great a specialist in Indo-European languages as Kuryłowicz (1964: 189). Nevertheless, the question is: what does this have to do with Graecism? The answer is simple, and it lies in the fact that some uses of the Latin dative can be explained either as an extension of the use and meaning of the Latin dative itself, or as an imitation of Greek. Therefore, a clear explanation of the "Grundbedeutung" of the dative is important: if the "Grundbedeutung" is broad enough to explain some unusual usages, then Graecism is not necessary; but it becomes obligatory if a restricted "Grundbedeutung" cannot explain such strange uses.

A construction in which Graecism has been acknowledged is the well-known expression in Verg. *Aen.* 5,451: *it clamor caelo* 'a shout mounts to heaven', which has been considered either a Graecism and a form influenced by Greek, or a development within Latin. The solution to this problem has wavered between complete acceptance and complete exclusion, represented respectively by Brenous and by Leumann (1959: 146). Leumann excluded any Hellenism in this construction, as well as in the extension of the accusative of movement with nouns referring to countries:

> "Nicht griechischen Ursprüngs, sondern Erweiterung lateinischer Gebräuche sind dagegen [Leumann does admit some Graecisms, see p. 145] beispielsweise der reine Akkusativ des Ziels bei Ländernamen, Verg. *Aen.* 1,2 *Italiam … uenit* ['he came to Italy'], oder der Dativ des Ziels, Verg. *Aen.* 5,451 *it clamor caelo*, Weiterentwicklung aus *tendens manus dis*, dann *caelo*".

Brenous (1895: 193–208) devotes a lengthy inquiry to this question. He correctly excludes the locative explanation, showing that *caelo* or similar local nouns are not locative in the same way as *domi*, *ruri*, *campi*, and *animi*. However, Brenous believes that a local ablative was in competition with this kind of dative and, in some cases, the dative is an ablative of place, as in Verg. *Aen.* 2,553: *lateri capulo tenus abdidit ensem* 'he buried it to the hilt in his side'. His explanation is therefore that in many constructions of this kind, such as the ancient formula *Fest*. 254: *ollus Quiris leto datus*, the noun *leto* was an ablative considered to be a dative. Landgraf (1893: 71) also places this formula at the beginning of such uses and explains Cicero's construction (*leg.* 2,22: *sos leto datos diuos habento* 'consider them after death as deified')[26] as borrowed from the ancient legal formula.[27]

It is impossible, in Brenous's opinion, to explain this construction – in cases such as Verg. *Aen.* 5,451: *it clamor caelo* 'a shout mounts to heaven', Verg. *georg.* 1,322: *immensum caelo uenit agmen aquarum* 'there appears in the sky a mighty column of waters', Verg. *Aen.* 3,417: *uenit medio ui pontus* 'the sea came in force between', and Tib. 2,1,81: *ueni dapibus festis* – only through the dative as the product of analogy "weiter nichts als fortwuchernde Analogiebildungen", as Landgraf (1893: 70) tried to show, because "si l'on y voit un datif, il ne nous paraît pas possible ... de l'expliquer par le latin seul. Il serait dû, selon nous, à l'influence de la langue homérique" (Brenous 1895: 206). In other words, the dative was not enough to produce such a construction without the influence of Greek and, in particular, of the old language of Greek epic and lyric poetry, as in: Hom. *Il.* 3,318: λαοὶ δ' ἠρήσαντο, θεοῖσι δὲ χεῖρας ἀνέσχον 'the people made prayer and lifted their hands to the gods', 4,523: ἄμφω χεῖρε φίλοις ἑτάροισι πετάσσας 'he stretched out both his hands to his dear comrades', 5,174: Διὶ χεῖρας ἀνασχών 'lift up your hands to Zeus', Pind. *Isth.* 6,41: ἀνατείναις οὐρανῷ χεῖρας ἀμάχους '(Hercules) by lifting up his invincible hands to the sky'. But we recognize that, with the exception of a few examples, this usage grew in poetry and thence in post-Classical prose (see below and

26. The reading *sos* (= *eos*) is a conjecture on the reading of the mss. *nos*.
27. The legal tradition is very old and can be traced back to Babylonian laws (see Driver and Miles 1968, the "Code" of Hammurabi, Torre 2004, and the later Hittite laws, Friedrich 1959).

Landgraf [1893: 71–76], who collected many expressions classified under different motifs like *caelo, terrae, oceano, oppido, castello, stabulis*, and synonyms).

Conversely, the dative of purpose is enough, in Brenous's (1895: 204) opinion, to explain some other examples, such as: Verg. *Aen.* 2,688: *et caelo palmas cum uoce tetendit* '(Anchises) uplifts to heaven hands and voice', 9,682–683: *caelo / attollunt capita* 'they raise to heaven their heads', Ov. *met.* 1,167–168: *caelo / bracchia porrexit* 'he stretched his arms to heaven', 2,580: *tendebam bracchia caelo* 'I was stretching my arms to heaven'. However, I cannot accept Brenous's distinctions, because a dative of purpose or movement cannot be excluded either in *tendebam bracchia caelo* or in *it clamor caelo*, where the only difference between *tendere* and *ire* or *uenire* is an aspectual difference, which in Latin is largely irrelevant. The correct explanation is given by Löfstedt (1942: 180ff.), who accepts Landgraf's and Brugmann's (1911: 2, 552f.) explanation, that the goal and purpose is expressed with this dative under the influence of an animate goal (e.g., Verg. *Aen.* 2,398: *multos Danaum demittimus Orco* 'and we send down many Greeks to Orcus', Hom. *Il.* 1,3 πολλὰς δ' ἰφθίμους ψυχὰς Ἄϊδι προΐαψεν 'and he sent down to Hades many valiant souls'): "Wenn hier im Dativ nicht eine Person, sondern ein Gegenstand erscheint . . . , so ist dann mit dem Dativ doch nur das Ziel als etwas, dem die Handlung zustrebt und gilt, bezeichnet" (Brugmann 1911: 2, 552, who gives additional examples from Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, and Gothic). The expansion of this construction is explained by Hofmann & Szantyr (1972: 100) first as an influence of Greek, then as a product of analogy, and I agree with this solution. Also, Marouzeau (1949: 147) explains this construction as a dative induced by the similarity with animate nouns construed with the dative, if verbs of movement, such as *mittere*, *agere*, *ire* occur. Marouzeau omits any reference to possible Graecism, which seems very strange to me.

In conclusion, Graecism can be acknowledged in the expansion of the dative of purpose and movement, which occurs in poetry and prose, only as a hyperurbanism (*Bell. Hisp.* 38,6: *munitiones iugo derigunt* 'they direct the circumvallations toward the height of the hill'; 40,1: *se recepit castello* 'he took refuge in the castle', see Löfstedt 1942: 190f.; Hofmann & Szantyr 1972: 100: the dative was employed to avoid the vulgar prepositional construction with *ad*); but the linguistic basis lies in the meaning of such datives,

which are not only Greek, but also Latin, and can be found in many other Indo-European languages.

2.1.3.5 Volenti mihi est. The clear Graecism *uolenti mihi est* = βουλομένῳ μοί ἐστι is employed by Sallust in *Bellum Iugurthinum*, Livy (21,50,10), and Tacitus (*Agr.* 18,2; *hist.* 2,43,2; *ann.* 1,59,1) and is recognized as a Graecism by Brenous (1895: 189ff.), Hofmann & Szantyr (1972: 100), and Malcovati (1971: 202).

(15) a. Sall. *Iug.* 84,3: *supplementum etiam laetus* [sc. *senatus*] *decreuerat, quia neque plebi militia uolenti putabatur*
'the senate was glad to vote an addition to the legions, because it was thought that the common people were disinclined to the military service'

b. *Iug.* 100,4: *uti militibus exaequatus cum imperatore labor uolentibus esset*
'so as to make the soldiers willing to endure labor of which their commander did his full share'

In Brenous's opinion, the origin can be found in the imitation of Thucydides and Demosthenes by Sallust. As for the Greek correspondence, cf. Kühner & Gerth (1955: 425f.): Thuc. 2,3,2: τῷ γὰρ πλήθει τῶν Πλαταιῶν οὐ βουλομένῳ ἦν τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀφίστασθαι 'for it was not the wish of the majority of the Plataeans to withdraw from the Athenian alliance', Dem. 18,11: ἂν βουλομένοις ἀκούειν ᾖ τουτοισί, μνησθήσομαι 'if these people want to hear, I will remind them of (it)'.

How can the use of the dative under Greek influence be explained? Another aspect linked with the expanded use of the Greek language by Romans of Cicero's age must be considered, as has been shown by Kaimio (1979) and Dubuisson (1992): that every upper-class Roman citizen knew and used Greek just as they did Latin. As for the dative, Adams (2003: 497–503) collects examples of Greek words in the dative case which occur in Cicero's letters to Atticus. Often, the dative corresponds to the case expected in a Greek text, for example, Cic. *Att.* 2,1,8: *dicit enim tamquam in Platonis* πολιτείᾳ / 'he speaks (in the Senate) as though he were living in Plato's Republic', or 13,21,3: *Carneades … retentionem aurigae similem facit* ἐποχῇ 'Carneades

is always comparing ἐποχή to a driver's holding in' (trans. Shackleton Bailey).[28] However, sometimes this dative corresponds to the Latin rather than to the Greek construction, for example, Antonius in Cic. *Att.* 10,8A,1: *ab offensione nostra, quae magis a* ζηλοτυπίᾳ *mea quam ab iniuria tua nata est* 'I considered that the coolness which has arisen between us came more from jealousy on my part than from any injury on yours'. Adams gives many examples from Cicero's letters to Atticus, but I checked all examples and only this example from Antonius complies with this condition. This is because, of the seven Ciceronian examples where the dative would correspond to a Greek genitive in a Greek text, four are *de* + dative, but they refer to the argument Cicero is dealing with (which is expressed in Greek with περί + gen. or dat.). One, 14,19,1: ἀριστείᾳ, is an uncertain reading, and 13,21,3: is a mistake, for Adams gives *a* ἐποχῇ instead of *similem* [. . .] ἐποχῇ. The only example that remains is 16,7,3: *etsi quid iam opus est* σχολίῳ*? Si perseuerassem, opus fuisset* 'not that there is any need for a tract now? If I had stuck to my plans, then there would have been'. Adams writes that the Greek correspondence is δεῖ or χρεία ἐστί and that both verbs require a genitive, but I am not sure that a verb such as χράομαι is excluded, and χράομαι admits both genitive and dative. Thus on the one hand Cicero inserted Greek words into Latin expressions in such a way that the dative case was appropriate both in the Latin context and in the corresponding Greek construction. So it seems that only Antonius uses the dative (*a* ζηλοτυπίᾳ *mea*) where Greek would have used a genitive expressing separation. On the other hand, Cicero did not hesitate to use the Greek construction when writing to Atticus and employing Greek words with the article – that is, with a form absent in Latin and therefore preserving its Greek character in an easier way: Cic. *Att.* 5,19,3: *plane gaudeo, quoniam* τὸ νεμεσᾶν *interest* τοῦ φθονεῖν 'frankly I do rejoice, since malice is one thing, righteous indignation another' (trans. Shackleton Bailey). Here, the genitive τοῦ φθονεῖν depends on *interest* in the same way as it would have depended on the Greek correspondence διαφέρει, as correctly observed by Adams (2003: 501, n. 272). In any case, we can easily imagine what a

28. Here, Adams incorrectly writes *ab* ἐποχῇ, which would correspond to the Latin construction but not to the Greek, where we would expect a genitive. Unfortunately, the expression *ab* ἐποχῇ is only a mistake, while the correct reading is *similem* [. . .] ἐποχῇ, namely an expression which is perfectly acceptable both in Greek and in Latin.

pleasure it was to employ a Greek dative introducing a Greek construction for people accustomed to adapting the Greek language to Latin and vice versa, as Adams (2003) correctly points out. He concludes this section as follows: "It thus becomes clear that Cicero's tolerance of the -ᾳ 'ablatival' dative has a long-standing precedent" (Adams 2003: 503). Here, he has followed the convention of using a Roman tribal name to characterize somebody in the Greek version of Roman documents. The case employed on this occasion to render the Latin ablative is the dative, and it can be considered one of the first uses of a Greek dative to do so. Actually, it occurs first in 135 BCE in the Greek version of the *Senatus Consultum de Prienensium et Samiorum litibus* B 3 (Sherk 1969: 56): Λεύκιος Τρεμήλιος Γναίου Καμελλίᾳ, Γαΐος Ἄννιος Γαίου Καμελλίᾳ. The Index of Nomina Romana collected by Sherk (1969: 390–392) contains a list of magistrates or personalities whose names are indicated in the documents with the name of the corresponding tribe.

In Sherk's 82-entry list, the tribe's name is almost always in the dative (e.g., Καμιλίᾳ, Κυρίνᾳ, Φαβίᾳ, Λεμονίᾳ, Παπειρίᾳ), excluding the indication of the tribe *Arnensis*, which in all 5 occurrences is Ἀρνήνσης, (*Doc.* 56,1) Κυρίναλ[ις] (once) vs. Κ(ο)υρίνᾳ (five times), Ποπιλίας (once), and Σ[τ]ηλατίνας vs. Στελατ(ε)ίνᾳ in one of the earliest documents, *Epistula P. Corneli Blasionis et SC de Ambraciotibus et Athamanibus* (Sherk 1969: 34–36), written between 175 and 160 BCE. On the other hand, the Latin ablative corresponding to the Greek dative has been interpreted as an ablative of origin by Ernout & Thomas (1953: 83) and Hofmann & Szantyr (1972: 105). The rare genitives and ablatives in competition with the dative show that Adams is correct in considering this dative to be a long-standing precedent for the dative employed by Antonius and occasionally Cicero, but one must be cautious: it is possible that Cicero was more careful in writing to a half-Greek, such as Atticus. Another extension of the dative in Greek is noted by Adams (2003: 504) in dating by means of the names of consuls (39 BCE): Λευκίῳ Μαρκίῳ Κησωρίνῳ καὶ Γαίῳ Καλουησίῳ ὑπάτοις (probably corresponding to an ablative absolute).

2.1.4 Accusative

2.1.4.1 Accusative of relation. The accusative of relation has been studied by Landgraf, Müller, Brugmann, and Kroll.[29] Leumann (1959: 145) considers it a clear Graecism ("Akkus. der Beziehung, richtig benannt Accusativus Graecus. Bei Adjektiven: *nuda genu, flaua comas*. Bei passiven Partizipien: *succincti corda machaeris* ['girt round their hearts with broadswords'] Enn. [*ann.* 400], *lacrimis oculos suffusa* ['(Venus) eyes brimming with tears'] Verg. [*Aen.* 1,228], *membra* [...] / *stratus* ['stretched out at length'] Hor. [*carm.* 1,1,21f.]"); cf. Norden (1957: 281). Landgraf (1898) is an influential treatment. The fact is confirmed by Quintilian *inst.* 9,3,17: *ex Graeco vero tralata vel Sallusti plurima, quale est ... et iam vulgatum actis quoque: "saucius pectus"* 'idioms transferred from Greek are common also in Sallust, ... idioms such as "wounded in the breast" have even become normal in official reports'. Landgraf (1898: 210–214) lists adjectives and participles connected with this kind of accusative, such as Ov. *met.* 15,213: *hiems alba capillos* 'winter with white hair', Tac. *Germ.*17: *nudae bracchia ac lacertos* 'they are bare in their arms and shoulders', *ann.* 6,9: *clari genus* (*genus* is used in poetic forms such as Verg. *Aen.* 5,285: *Cressa genus, Pholoe* 'Pholoe of Cretan stock', which imitates Homer's: Hom. *Il.* 23,471: Αἰτωλὸς γενεήν 'an Aetolian by race'); cf. also Brenous (1895: 238f.).

Despite Brenous's (1895: 209–239) extensive discussion of this topic, the best classification and ranking of Graecisms in this construction is by Hofmann & Szantyr (1972: 36–38). They first distinguish the accusative with verbs of dressing like *induor*: the accusative of relation seems to have originated with the past participle and extended to finite forms through the influence of Greek. After the Classical period, this accusative is almost exclusively poetic. On the other hand, a Graecism cannot be excluded, since this accusative depends on a past participle, as in the clear Graecism in Ennius *ann.* 400 Vahlen: *succinti corda machaeris*, while the expansion from the type *indutum ... pallam* (Plaut. *Men.* 511) 'wearing the mantle'[30] to *nuda*

29. They are quoted by Calboli (1960: 134–139). Dubuisson (1985: 237ff.) pointed out that Polybius used a dative of reference (e.g., 2,14,4: τῷ σχήματι τριγωνοειδής 'de forme triangulaire').

30. On *indutus* see also Brenous (1895: 247ff.). It was frequently employed with the ac-

pedem, *saucius pectus* – that is, to the use of accusative of relation for body parts – which can be either a Graecism or an analogical extension. The use of this kind of accusative by Ennius is explained by Adams (2003: 422f.) as a Hellenization of Latin poetic syntax, as in *ann.* 49–50, Vahlen 48f. Skutsch.: *quamquam multa manus ad caeli caerula templa / tendebam lacrumans et blanda uoce uocabam* 'no, even though many a time and with tears did I keep holding out my hands toward the blue precincts of the sky'. "This procedure", Adams (2003: 423) writes, "had its origin in the subservience of Latin culture to Greek, and was one of the strategies whereby a Latin 'poetic' language was artificially created". On the one hand, a kind of "artificiality" could not be avoided by Roman writers who found all literary genres already well developed by Greek authors and had to interact with them in order to assert themselves. On the other hand, the criticism of "artificiality" seems to be accurate, but also generic, because every work of art is in some respect "artificial". The remarkable "artificiality" of Roman writers partially depended on the imitation of Greek writers and acceptance of their genres and methods, but this is exactly the problem of Graecism. More original is Adams's observation that syntactic Graecism is not exclusive to the literary language: "Not all syntactic borrowing or imitation represents literary affectation" (Adams 2003: 423). The borrowing could be at a lower level; and besides imitation, interference between two languages must also be taken into account, such as borrowings from Greek into Latin. Interference is another aspect pointed out by Adams (2003: 424f.), explained in the opening pages of his book.

"Interference" is a generic concept exemplified in some Latin words written with Greek endings, as κλάσσης or σεσκεντους or φιλιους (Adams 2003: 28).

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cusative by Plautus (*Epid.* 223, 225; *Men.* 190, 511, 514; *Rud.* 207, cf. Calboli 1960: 134), Terence (*Eun.* 708: *et eamst indutu'* (*vestem*)*?* 'did he wear that dress?'), as well as Livy (27,37,12: *longam indutae vestem* '(twenty-seven maidens) wearing long dresses'), then Vergil (*Aen.* 2,275: *exuvias indutus Achillis* 'after donning the spoils of Achilles'), Propertius (3,13,11: *matrona incedit census induta nepotum* 'matrons go forth arrayed in spendthrifts' fortunes') (trans. Butler), and Ovid (*met.* 1,270: *uarios induta colores* 'clad in robes of many hues'). On these constructions, see also Rosén (1999: 25), who correctly points out that this kind of accusative occurs only with participles before Lucretius (3,489).

Some constructions, such as Lucr. 5,1223–1224: *regesque superbi / … percussi membra timore* ‘the proud kings shrinking in every limb’, where the accusative *membra* may have been triggered by the preposition *per* in *percussi,* could end up as the accusativus Graecus. This cannot be denied with intransitives, as in Lucr. 3,487: *tremit artus* ‘some man shivers throughout his frame’ (ed. Bailey), Sen. *Med.* 353: *quis non totos horruit artus* ‘who didn’t tremble in all the limbs’. Classical prose mostly avoids the accusative of relation; in *Rhet. Her.* 4,47,60: *pallam inauratam indutus* ‘clothed in a gold-embroidered robe’, it is used to point out the ostentation in a kind of parade of the dress (Calboli 1960: 27f.). The accusative of relation extended under Greek influence to constructions with an adjective, as in Verg. *Aen.* 5,285: *Cressa genus, Pholoe* ‘Pholoë of Cretan stock’ (Hom. *Il.* 23,471: Αἰτωλὸς γενεήν ‘an Aetolian by race’), but here too, body parts predominate: Tac. *hist.* 4,81,1: *manum aeger*.

The above discussion of the accusative of relation suffices, but Brenous adds much of interest. He points out that Cicero *off.* 3,42: *scite Chrysippus, ut multa: ‘Qui stadium, inquit, currit …’* ‘Chrysippus says with his usual aptness, “When a man enters the foot-race …” ’ uses a Graecism with the expression *stadium currit* because he is quoting a thought of Chrysippus. This is confirmed, in Brenous’s opinion, by Quintilian (*inst.* 1,5,38), who considers the parallel expression *ambulo viam* a solecism (cf. also *ThLL* IV 1511,33–58 [Hofmann] “acc. spatii peragrati”, connected by Hofmann in *ThLL* with the figura etymologica). Greek has πλεῖν τὴν θάλασσαν (Xen. *Hell.* 4,8,6), and it is not easy to completely exclude Graecism in this case, though it appears to be a partial Graecism. Conversely, a clearer Graecism seems to be Verg. *Aen.* 1,524: *uentis maria omnia uecti* ‘tempest-driven over every sea’, with not only *vehi maria* but also a perfect passive participle. Another clear Graecism can be recognized in Catullus 66,40: *adiuro teque tuumque caput* ‘I swear by you and your head’ because of the reference to Callimachus 110,40: σήν τε κάρην ὤμοσα σόν τε βίον (cf. *ThLL* I 713,18–24). The example Verg. *Aen.* 6,517–518: *illa chorum simulans, euhantis orgia circum / ducebat Phrygias* ‘she feigned a solemn dance and round the city led the Phrygian wives, shrieking in their Bacchic rites’ imitates Eur. *Bacch.* 1035: εὐάζω ξένα ‘I exult, foreigner that I am’ (see also Norden 1957: 266f., who believes that Vergil followed Catullus and used a Greek construction). Another aspect of the accusative of relation is the connection with *figura etymo-*

logica, such as *pugnam pugnare*, in Greek μάχην μάχεσθαι (Brenous 1895: 217–225). Here, the influence of the Greek has been pointed out by Brenous (1895: 221): "Que le substantif soit formé du même radical que le verbe, ou qu'il ait seulement une signification identique ou très analogue, l'imitation du grec n'est pas moins vraisemblable". However, the Graecism is accepted by Hofmann & Szantyr (1972: 39) only for the Ecclesiastic writers. There are some examples where the imitation of Greek is beyond doubt, such as Gell. 17,21,9: *ducentesimo deinde et sexagesimo anno post Romam conditam, aut non longe amplius, uictos esse ab Atheniensibus Persas memoriae traditum est pugnam illam inclutam Marathoniam Miltiade duce* 'then, in the two hundred and sixtieth year after the founding of Rome, or not much later, it is recorded that the Persians were vanquished by the Athenians in the famous battle of Marathon under the leadership of Miltiades' compared by Brenous (1895: 225, n.1) with Isocr. 4,145: τὰς μὲν γὰρ ἄλλας μάχας, ὅσας ἡττήθησαν [sc. οἱ Πέρσαι], ἐῶ 'I don't mention the other battles where the Persians have been defeated'. The accusative of relation is greatly reduced, however, and the passive form, with the possibility of an accusative of internal object, as in Enn. *trag*. 234: *praeter propter uitam uiuitur* 'our lives we live but more or less' (trans. Warmington), is exceptional (Calboli 1962: 42–44). Possible Greek influence is seen in Lucr. 3,569–371: *primordia … / conclusa mouentur / sensiferos motus* 'the first-beginnings shut in make sense-giving motions' (Bailey 1966: 1090), as proved in Brenous's opinion by a parallel from Aristotle *de anim.* 406b1: ἣν [sc. τὴν κίνησιν] τὸ σῶμα κινεῖται 'by which movement a body is moved'. Imitation of Greek is highly likely in Catull. 51,5: *dulce ridentem* 'sweetly laughing', which corresponds to Sappho's (31,5) γελαίσας ἰμέροεν, and in Hor. *carm.* 1,22,23: *dulce ridentem Lalagen amabo, / dulce loquentem* 'Lalage sweetly speaking and laughing will still be my love'. See Nisbet and Hubbard (1970: 273), who cleverly observe that Horace's *dulce ridentem* comes from Catullus, but *dulce loquentem* from Catullus's source Sappho: πλάσιον ἆδυ φωνείσας ὐπακούει / καὶ γελαίσας ἰμέροεν 'who is listening to your sweet speech close to you'. Additional examples of the accusative neuter used as an adverb, reproducing the Greek pattern, include Hor. *carm*. 2,12,14: *lucidum fulgentis*; and *carm.* 3,27,67: *perfidum ridens* (Nisbet and Rudd 2004: 336, only this last commentary speaks of a Greek accusative). This usage is frequent in poetry (see examples collected by Brenous 1895: 233f., such as Verg. *Aen.* 6,50: *nec*

mortale sonans ‘nor having her voice a mortal ring’; 12,398: *acerba fremens* ‘bitterly chafing’, and many others; Catull. 66,18: *non … uera gemunt* ‘their grief is false’; Prop. 1,5,30: *cogemur … / mutua flere* ‘we shall be constrained to weep each on the other’s breast’; Lucr. 2,76: *mortales mutua uiuunt* ‘mortals live one and all by give and take’; Hor. *carm.* 3,3,17: *gratum elocuta* ‘(after Juno had made) a speech that brought joy’. Ammianus Marcellinus, as a Greek historian, frequently employs the accusative of relation (cf. Hassenstein 1887: 10): 16,12,45: *toruum canentibus classicis* ‘as their trumpets pealed savagely’; 16,11,8: *ululantes lugubre* ‘with mournful cries’; 23,6,80: *insanum loquentes et ferum* ‘they talk madly and extravagantly’. Brenous’s conclusion is probably excessive, but he rightly points out that the difference between Greek and Latin is the use of the accusative in Greek and its replacement by the ablative in Latin:

> La provenance grecque de l’accusatif de relation a cette évidence qui s’impose. Il est inconnu de Cicéron et de César. Il a passé du grec dans la langue de la poésie latine et dans celle des prosateurs qui imitaient les poètes … Si l’accusatif a été refoulé en latin par l’instrumental, c’est non seulement parce que cette langue disposait d’un plus grand nombre de cas, mais surtout à cause de son goût pour les déterminations exactes. (Brenous 1895: 237f.)

I do not know whether this last observation of Brenous’s is correct – I suspect that it is not – but he gives proper consideration to the development of this construction in Latin from the poets to the prose writers.

An interesting adverbial use of the accusative as a translation of the Greek idiom τὴν ἀρχήν = *initium* or *principium* (translated in the New Revised Standard Version [1989] as ‘at all’ and in the King James Version [1611] as ‘from the beginning’) has been noted by Lundström (1955: 122f., see also Blass & Debrunner 1976: 131): *Ioh.* 8,25: τὴν ἀρχὴν ὅτι καὶ λαλῶ ὑμῖν ‘why do I speak to you at all’ ~ *Itala*: *initium quod et loquor uobis* – Vulgate: *principium qui et loquor uobis*. However, Rönsch (1887–1889: 79) quotes an example from Cato: Cato *agr.* 157,1: *principium te cognoscere oportet, quae genera brassicae sint* ‘the several varieties of cabbage should first be known’, and there are other examples of *principium* meaning “von Anfang an”, “überhaupt”, as in Caelius Aurelianus *Chron.* 3,154 (ed.princ.): *initium*, instead of (*in*) *initio*. As for Cato, the Greek origin of the passage has recently been

confirmed by Boscherini (1970: 29f.),[31] though Boscherini, who quotes the whole passage, does not consider the supposed idiom, *principium* = ἀρχήν. Therefore, it is not impossible that it is a Graecism which had already entered Early Latin.

In a later section, Brenous (1895: 239–264) considers the accusative with passive verbs, but this accusative is not different from the accusative of relation. Our illustrations begin with Classical and Augustan poets: Verg. *georg.* 4,13: *picti squalentia terga lacerti* 'the spangled lizard with his scaly back', Hor. *sat.* 1,1,5: *miles … multo iam fractus membra labore* 'the soldier, when his limbs are worn out with the long hard strain'. The Horace introduces a new aspect of this construction, where the accusative appears together with an ablative. This necessitates changing the case in order to avoid possible confusion, which would occur if two ablatives had been employed. Frequent use of such a construction begins with Lucretius 1,12: *perculsae corda tua ui* 'their hearts thrilled with thy might'; 5,1223: *non … reges … superbi / corripiunt diuum percussi membra timore* 'do not the proud kings shrink in every limb, thrilled with the fear of the gods' (Brenous 1895: 252); Catullus *carmen* 64: "qui est une traduction du grec" (Brenous 1895: 242); and Livy 21,7,10: *aduersum femur tragula ictus*. example (16) is particularly interesting because it contains the opinion of Gellius that the expression he is considering is a Graecism:

(16) Gell. 15,14,2: *uerba ex oratione eius* [sc. *Q.Metelli Numidici*] *haec sunt: "Cum sese sciret in tantum crimen uenisse atque socios ad senatum questum flentes uenisse sese pecunias maximas esse exactos". '⟨Sese⟩ pecunias' inquit '⟨maximas⟩ exactos esse' pro eo, quod est 'pecunias a se esse maximas exactas'. Id nobis uidebatur Graeca figura dictum; Graeci enim dicunt:* εἰσεπράξατό με ἀργύριον, *id significat 'exegit me pecuniam', Quod si id dici potest, etiam 'exactus esse aliqui pecuniam' dici potest, Caeciliusque eadem figura in Hypobolimaeo Aeschino usus uidetur: ego illud minus nihilo exigor portorium, id est 'nihilominus exigitur de me portorium'.*
'the words of his (Quintus Metellus Numidicus's) speech are as follows: "When he knew that he had incurred so grave an accusation,

31. Boscherini supposes that this doctrine came from Theophrastus.

> and that our allies had come to the senate in tears, to make complaint that they had been exacted enormous sums of money". He says "that they had been exacted enormous sums of money", instead of "that enormous sums of money had been exacted from them". This seems to me an imitation of a Greek idiom; for the Greeks say: εἰσεπράξατό με ἀργύριον, meaning "he exacted me money". But if this can be said, so too can "one is exacted money", and Caecilius seems to have used that form of expression in his "Suppositious Aeschinus": Yet I the customs-fee exacted am. That is to say, "yet the customs-fee is exacted from me"' (trans. Rolfe)

Horace's *sat.* 1,6,73–75: *magni / quo pueri magnis e centurionibus orti / laeuo suspensi loculos tabulamque lacerto, ibant* 'the towering boys, sprung from towering centurions, used to go, with their satchels and slates slung over their left shoulders' may be compared with Philostr. *Vitae Soph* II 618,28: ἀκολούθους τε παῖδας ἄχθη βιβλίων ἐν πήραις ἀνημμένους 'and slaves in waiting carrying loads of books in satchels' (Kiessling and Heinze 1959: 119). Another Graecism "par excellence", in Brenous's (1895: 255) opinion, is Verg. *Aen.* 2,273: *perque pedes traiectus lora tumentes* 'his swollen feet pierced with thongs', but I think it could depend on the preposition *per*. On the other hand, the expansion of this accusative in Classical poetry contributes to its diffusion, as in Hor. *ars* 302: *qui purgor bilem sub uerni temporis horam* '(oh how gauche am) I then, purging my bile just before the spring season' where *bilem* instead of *bile* is considered a Graecism by Brenous (1895: 259), but I wonder whether it is an inner-Latin extension rather than a real Graecism (cf. Brink [1971: 333], who explains *purgor bilem* as "construed like *lauor*"). It seems to me that Greek influence was present in all these cases, in particular with the participle and in poetry – that is, in a language which was more closely linked with the Greek and where imitation of Greek was admired.

We are led to this conclusion for all uses of the cases in Latin syntax. In Christian Latin, the influence of Greek was stronger, as already pointed out by Rönsch (1965 [1875]: 437–442), which should be employed with caution, because he considers as direct Graecisms some constructions which seem only to have been encouraged by the imitation of Greek, such as Luc. 16,31 *Itala (cod. Rehdigeranus)*: *neque si quis ex mortuis resurrexerit, persuadebit eos* – Vulgate: *neque si quis ex mortuis resurrexerit, credent* ∼ οὐδὲ ἐάν τις

ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστῇ πεισθήσονται ‘neither will they be convinced even if someone rises from the dead’ (Rönsch 1965 [1875]: 442). Lundström (1955: 177f.) treated *secundum* as a Latin translation of the Greek κατά to signify a likeness, a resemblance: *Itala-Vulgate Sirach* 36,25: *non est uir illius secundum filios hominum*, *Sirach* 36,23: οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς καθ’ υἱοὺς ἀνθρώπων ‘then is not her husband like other men’, and Irenaeus Latinus 4,27,1: *non enim erat cor eius perfectum in Domino secundum cor David patris eius*, *Sept. Reg III.* 11,4: καὶ οὐκ ἦν ἡ καρδία αὐτοῦ τελεία μετὰ κυρίου θεοῦ αὐτοῦ καθὼς ἡ καρδία Δαυιδ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ. Lundström, following Svennung, saw Greek influence in the expansion of this idiom (“die Verwendung der Präp. *secundum* von der Gleichheit und Ähnlichkeit, welche offenbar durch den Einfluss des gr. κατά mit dem Akk. … verbreitet worden ist” [Lundström 1955: 177]; see also Blass & Debrunner [1976: 181f.]).

2.2 Subordination

2.2.1 Ille *as a “quasi-article”*

I now turn to the use of pronouns and in particular the use of *ille* as an article. The article is fully developed in Greek at least since Homer, and its absence in Latin is such an impressive peculiarity that it cannot pass unnoticed. Rieman (1927: 13–17) devoted several pages to this fact.[32] This topic was also considered by Brenous, who added some interesting examples from the *Versio Palatina* of the Pastor Hermae, where the Latin pronoun *ille* or *ipse* or *iste* or *idem* occurs to translate a Greek article: *sim.* 7,6: τὸν ἄγγελον, *illum nuntium*; *sim.* 9,14,2: τῶν παρθένων, *istarum uirginum*; *sim.* 8,2,8: τῷ ποιμένι, *eidem pastori*; *vis.* 3,2,5: ὁ πύργος, *ipsa turris* (Brenous 1895: 436, n. 2). Here, the use of Latin pronouns to correspond to the Greek article shows that Latin was not ready to develop a real article.

32. See also Ernout & Thomas (1953: 191–193), but with the caveat that their expression “Début de l’article” (p. 192) is misleading, because a real article did not appear until the Romance languages; in Late Latin we can speak only of an “articloïde” (see Calboli 1997a: 239). On the use of demonstrative pronouns in Latin and their development, see Selig (1992).

The reason for considering this subject in connection with subordination lies in my suggestion that two changes in the development from Latin to the Romances languages, the genesis of the article and the disappearance of the Accusativus cum Infinitivo construction, are linked: in Romance languages, the demonstrative pronoun *ille* (in Sardinian and Catalan *ipse*) became frequent to maintain the reference-tracking previously given by the syntax (Accusativus cum Infinitivo and participle), and it became obligatory, yielding the definite article. At the same time, *unus* was developing into the indefinite article *un*, *uno*, *una*. In this way, the article system of the Romance languages emerged. In Greek, on the other hand, the development of the demonstrative pronoun had already occurred in Homeric language, along with clauses introduced by ὡς, ὅτι, ὅπως, etc. + finite verb. This did not eliminate the Accusativus cum Infinitivo, but reduced it in comparison with Latin, where it remained until the full development of Latin into Romance. Therefore, comparison of Greek and Latin is very important in evaluating this process, as I have demonstrated previously (Calboli 1997b: 3f., 2000, 2001, 2002). The first point to consider is Latin writers' attempts to translate the Greek article into Latin. Clear, but few (23 cases), are the examples in the *Vetus Latina* given by Abel (1971: 118ff., also Rönsch 1965 [1875]: 419ff.). The pronoun *ille* occurs in adjectival position, the position of Greek and Romance articles, while this pronoun is omitted by Jerome in the corresponding Vulgate passages.

(17) a. *Matth.* 8,27: οἱ δὲ ἄνθρωποι ἐθαύμασαν λέγοντες, *Vet. Lat.*: *illi autem homines mirati sunt dicentes* (mss. a, b, c, f, g, h, q) *homines autem illi mirati sunt dicentes* (mss. f^1, l); *Vulg.*: *porro homines mirati sunt dicentes*
'they were amazed, saying'

b. *Luc.* 15,22: ταξὺ ἐξενέγκατε στολὴν τὴν πρώτην, *Vet. Lat.*: *cito proferte stolam illam primam* (mss. b, c, f^2, i, l, q); *Vulg.*: *cito proferte stolam primam*
'quickly, bring out a robe – the best one'

c. *Luc.* 15,27: καὶ φέρετε τὸν μόσχον τὸν σιτευτόν, *Vet. Lat.:* *adducite uitulum illum saginatum* (mss. a, b, c, ff^2, i), *uitulum illum pastum* (ms. q), *Vulg.*: *adducite uitulum saginatum*
'and get the fatted calf'

d. *Ioh.* 7,37: ἐν τῇ ἐσχάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ μεγάλῃ τῆς ἑορτῆς εἱστήκει ὁ Ἰησοῦς καὶ ἔκραξεν λέγων, *Vet. Lat.*: *in nouissimo die illo magno diei festi* (mss. aur, c, f^2, l, q) [33] *in nouissimo autem die festo magno ipso festiuitatis* (ms. r) *stabat Iesus, Vulg.*: *in nouissimo autem die magno festiuitatis stabat Iesus*[34] *et clamabat dicens*
'on the last day of the festival, the great day, while Jesus was standing there, he cried out'

e. *Ioh.* 18,2: ᾔδει δὲ καὶ Ἰούδας ὁ παραδιδοὺς αὐτὸν τὸν τόπον, *Vet. Lat.*: *sciebat autem et Iudas eum ipsum locum* (mss. b, c, e, f) / *locum illum* (ms. a), *Vulg.*: *sciebat autem et Iudas, qui tradebat eum, locum.*
'now Judas, who betrayed him, also knew the place'

Note that Jerome did use *ille* as a pronoun.[35]

I have previously explained this usage, following Abel (1971), as an inner-Latin development and not a Graecism. I no longer hold this position, for two reasons: first, *ille* (or *ipse*) does not occur in Latin as an article, except for a few uses as a "quasi-article"; second, Jerome was a purist and a lover of Cicero, but this is not relevant to the presence of Graecism in the *Vetus Latina*, which seems to be Vulgar Latin or a basilect, from which Graecism was not excluded.

Coleman (1975: 117) and Adams (2003: 517–519) both considered this problem constructively, but their treatment is rather disappointing. On the one hand, Coleman ignores the literature, not only the fundamental Abel (1971), but also the classic Rönsch (1965 [1875]). Coleman makes two mistakes. First, he incorrectly writes: "That the development towards articular function was not distinctive and neat is, however, demonstrated by the failure in the translation literature to find a single equivalent", which is not true (see Abel 1971 and below). Second, Coleman suggests that the Greek article influenced

33. For the sigla of the manuscripts, see Abel (1971: XX–XXII).
34. See Abel (1971: 119–122), Calboli (1997a: 3ff.).
35. For the use of other demonstrative/deictic pronouns, such as *hic, iste, ille,* and *ipse,* by various Latin writers, see Rosén (1999: 163, n. 12), and in particular Rosén (1994) as well as Pieroni (this work, vol. 2).

the development of (Vulgar) Latin in building an article: “It is highly probable that the Greek article was a major factor, if not the determining one, in the Latin developments”. This is incorrect because the development of the article in the Romance languages took place when Latin and Greek were most estranged, in the Early Middle Ages. On the other hand, Coleman correctly writes that in the *Vetus Latina* we find a “greater frequency of articular equivalents”, but he gives no examples, nor does he insist on this point (Coleman 1975: 117).

As for Adams, he quotes Coleman and adds only the untenable observation that in the *Miles* of Plautus, the use of *ille* could be influenced by the Greek custom of introducing the characters in the prologue by their function “accompanied by the definite article”, as in Menander *Aspis* 114: ὁ γέρων ‘the old man’, 128: ὁ μειρακίσκος ‘the young man’; *Dysc.* 28: ὁ παῖς ‘the boy’, 30: ὁ γέρων δ’ ἔχων τὴν θυγατέρα’ ‘The old man with his daughter’. Adams (2003: 518) suggests: “It seems to me likely that Plautus has imitated this practice in the prologue of the *Miles* [(79–155)], and in so doing has virtually treated *hic* and *ille* as article-equivalents”. In fact, this prologue, spoken by the *seruus* Palaestrio, mentions three characters, a soldier, a youth, and a young woman, to whom Palaestrio refers with the pronoun *ille* (1,88: *ille miles meus erus*, 1,101: *illa, illum*). Adams claims that the reason for the use of *ille* at line 88 is that the soldier “has already appeared on the stage in the previous scene, but the others have not” (Adams 2003: 519). This is simply false: it suffices to quote lines 98–105: *nunc argumentum exordiar. / erat* ***erus*** *Athenis mihi* ***adulescens*** *optumus; / is amabat* ***meretricem*** *+ matre + Athenis Atticis / et* ***illa illum*** *contra; qui est amor cultu optumus. /* ***is*** *publice legatus Naupactum fuit / magnai rei publicai gratia. / interibi* ***hic miles*** *forte Athenas aduenit, insimulat sese ad* ***illam amicam*** *<mei> eri* ‘I begin with the plot. I had a master in Athens, a splendid young gentleman. He was madly in love with a courtesan in Athens, Athens in Attica, and she with him – which is the sweetest kind of love affair to have. Now he was sent as a public commissioner to Naupactus on a matter of public importance. This soldier, meanwhile chancing to come to Athens, wormed his way into an acquaintance with that mistress of my master’ (trans. Nixon). Here, the expressions *illa illum*, *is*, *hic miles*, *illam amicam* refer to the previous nouns *miles*, *adulescens*, *meretricem,* which all occur before the pronouns. The deictic and anaphoric pronouns are required in correct Latin by the context. Therefore,

Adams's (2003: 519) opinion that "Plautus has not abandoned normal Latin procedures of deixis, but he has nevertheless drifted under Greek influence into a frequency of demonstratives which goes beyond the norms of the language" is simply wrong, because Plautus had to use these pronouns to avoid confusion and to indicate that the *miles* and the *amica* were those just mentioned and not some other ones. Adams's conclusion is also difficult to accept: that this gives "a glimpse of the starting point of the long process by which, at least partly under Greek influence, certain demonstratives were to develop into definite articles".

Adams does make one valid point. Plautus's expression *illam amicam* refers to the previously mentioned *amica*, but she became a character of the comedy and therefore underwent generalization, which is also an aspect of the Romance article. It is both an existential quantifier corresponding to a particular person and a universal one within this comedy because she is the *amica* of the soldier par excellence. It is the nature of the article (see Calboli 1997a: 29–33) to combine existential and universal quantification.

The influence of Greek on the development of the article was stressed by Bonfante, in an unsubstantiated and now generally abandoned opinion (Calboli 1997a: 180), excepting the special case of the *Vetus Latina* quoted above. What is true is that the use of *ille* as an article did not develop until the Romance languages, and as far as I know, Latin affords only two adjectival uses of *ille* that can be considered antecedents, but no more, of the Romance article: (1) *ille* + noun indicates a specific person or thing, *ille* + noun phrase must be replaced by *ille* alone when used with an instrumentum or a formula; this happens already in the legal instrumenta, such as those quoted by Hyginus or in the Merovingian formulae (18a–c). (2) *ille* appears in the *Regula Canonicorum* by Chrodegangus of Metz in a unique attestation (18d).

(18) a. Hyg. *grom.* 81: *sed et haec meminerimus in legibus saepe inueniri, cum ager est centuriatus ex alieno territorio paratusque, ut adsignaretur, inscriptum "QVOS AGROS, QVAE LOCA QVAEVE AEDIFICIA, INTRA FINES, puta,* ***ILLOS*** *ET INTRA FLVMEN* ***ILLVD****, INTRA VIAM* ***ILLAM****, DEDERO ADSIGNAVERO, IN EIS AGRIS IVRIS DICTIO COHERCITIOQVE ESTO COLONIAE* ***ILLIVS****", cuius ciuibus adsignabuntur*
'but at the same time let us keep in mind that the following

words are often found in laws, when land (taken) from another community has been divided up and prepared for allocation; the wording is: "with regard to those lands, those sites, those buildings, within", say, "this or that boundary and this or that river and this or that road, which I shall have granted and allocated, over this land let jurisdiction and right of enforcement belong to that colony" to whose citizens the land will be allocated' (trans. Campbell [2000: 85]) (cf. also Campbell 2000: 362)

b. Agenn. *grom.* 65: *nam invenimus saepe in publicis instrumentis significanter inscripta territoria ita ut "EX COLLICVLO QVI APPELLATVR ILLE, AD FLVMEN ILLVD, ET PER FLVMEN ILLVD AD RIVVM ILLVM aut VIAM ILLAM, ET PER VIAM ILLAM AD INFIMA MONTIS ILLIVS, QVI LOCVS APPELLATVR ILLE* etc."
'for we often find in public documents territories distinctively designated as follows: "From the small hill called such and such, to such and such river, and along that river to such and such a stream or such and such a road, and along that road to the lower slopes of such and such a mountain, a place which has the name such and such" (trans. Campbell [2000: 69]) (cf. Campbell 2000: 355)

c. *Marculf.* I 4: *igitur apostolicus uir **illi**, **illius** ciuitatis episcopus Clementiae Regni Nostri suggessit, eo quod **illi** rex per suam auctoritatem sua manu subscripta de uillas aecclesiae suae **illius*** etc.
'therefore, the apostolic man called such and such, bishop of the city such and such, suggested to our Clement Majesty that what King such and such decided by his own authority signed in his own hand as for the farms pertaining to his church such and such'

d. *Chrod. reg. can. cap.* 29: *et **illa** medietas cleri **illas** ueteres cappas, quas **illi** seniores annis singulis reddunt, accipiant et **illi** seniores **illas** cappas, quod reddere debent, non commutent*
'and the middle group of the clergy must receive the old caps which the senior priests gave back every year and the senior priests have not to change the old caps which they must give back'

In the first case, *ille* is the paradigmatic pronoun to be replaced by a proper name, which shows that *ille* became the normal pronoun to be used in an adjectival position. In the second case, *ille* depends on the particular importance of the distribution of clothes and the other equipment described. The only examples of *ille* close to the Romance article, therefore, are those in the *Vetus Latina*, which are translations of the Greek, but so irrelevant to the literary language that Jerome deleted them.

Another question is the attitude of the Romans toward the Greek article. Did they try to imitate Greek in writing Latin, as seen above, and were they influenced by Latin while writing Greek? In the first case, they had to use a pronoun, such as *ille* or *ipse* or *is,* like an article – that is, to use a sort of article where Latin did not need one; in the second, they had to omit the Greek article where it was necessary or usual. We have both the Latin and Greek texts of the *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*, also called the *Monumentum Ancyranum.* Meuwese (1920) compared the texts, devoting some pages to the use of the article. He found that the writer of the Greek version omitted the article where a Greek-speaker (he says "an Attic speaker") would have used it (Meuwese 1920: 32–53).

(19) a. Mon. *Ancyr.* 19,1–21,1: Βουλευτή[ρι]ον καὶ τὸ πλησίον αὐτῷ χαλκιδικόν, ναόν τε Ἀπόλλωνος ἐν Παλατίῳ σὺν στοαῖς … 2. ναοὺς ἐν Καπιτωλίῳ … ναοὺς Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ Ἥρας Βασιλίδος καὶ Διὸς Ἐλευθερίου ἐν Ἀουεντίνῳ, Ἡρώων πρὸς τῇ ἱερᾷ ὁδῷ, θεῶν κατοικιδίων ἐν Οὐελίᾳ … Ἀγορὰν Ἰουλίαν … [ἐτελείωσα] … ὁδὸν Φλαμινίαν … ἐπόησα. 21,1. Ἐν ἰδιωτικῷ ἐδάφει Ἄρεως Ἀμύντορος ἀγοράν τε Σεβαστὴν ἐκ λαφύρων ἐπόησα.

b. *curiam et continens ei Chalcidicum, templumque Apollinis in Palatio cum porticibus* … 2. *aedes in Capitolio* … *aedes Minervae et Iunonis Reginae et Iouis Libertatis in Aventino, aedem Larum in summa sacra uia, aedem deum Penatium in Velia* … *Forum Iulium et basilicam* … *perfeci* … *uiam Flaminiam* … *refeci* … 21.1. *In priuato solo Martis Vltoris templum forumque Augustum ex ma*[*n*]*ibiis feci.*

'I have built the Senate-house and close to it the Calcidicum, and the temple of Apollo in the Palatine with the colonnade, 2.

> the sanctuary in the Capitoline, the sanctuaries of Minerva and Juno, the Queen, and of Jupiter, the Freer, in the Aventine, the sanctuary of the Lares at the top of the Sacra Via, the sanctuary of the gods Penates in Velia, the Julian market and the basilica, I rebuilt the Flaminian road. 21.1. I made the temple of Mars, the Avenger, in a private place, and the Augustan market from the sale of booty'

Meuwese (1920: 42) comments rightly: "in his autem operum publicorum laterculis pluries omissum videmus articulum". In a few other passages (1,1, 12,8, 13,2), the article was added incorrectly (Meuwese 1920: 53). Though some cases of omission in this document must be ascribed to an improper and vulgar use of Greek, as Meuwese showed, in many places, both Romans and Greeks, even though they had a good command of Latin and Greek respectively, nonetheless used the article against the rules of grammar (Meuwese 1920: 54).[36] This is another crucial point: what kind of Greek is involved? So far, we have referred to literary and Classical Greek, but vulgar Greek existed as well. Therefore, we must avoid absolutes and evaluate, where possible, the kind of Greek seen in each example.

2.2.2 Declarative clauses

A clear Graecism, in my opinion, is found in Catullus 4,2: *ait fuisse nauium celerrimus* (Löfstedt 1933: 414). This corresponds to Poccetti's number (4) (cf. Section 2 above) but is more complicated, though not so strange as Verg. *Aen.* 2,377: *sensit dilapsus in hostes* 'he knew that he had fallen into the midst of foes', Greek: ᾔσθετο ἐμπεσών.

I compared this construction in Latin and Greek (Calboli 1997a: 253–262). It is true that a construction like Catullus's is normal in Greek (20b), with the only peculiarity being that the demonstrative pronoun is employed

36. "Plerosque locos, quibus interpres in articulo vel adhibendo vel omittendo a communi consuetudine recedit, a sermonis Graeci legibus abhorrere fatendum est ... Sed haec eadem vitia, quae in Monumento Ancyrano nimis Latine dicta habentur, in nonnullis sermonis vulgaris inscriptionibus, prae ceteris in titulo Antiochi Commagenes regis, inveniri sub singulis numeris vidimus. Itaque non minus quam Romani homines Asiani Graecae linguae haud bene gnari contra grammaticae regulas peccaverunt".

with the Nominativus cum Infinitivo, while the reflexive is used with the Accusativus cum Infinitivo:

(20) a. Thuc. 4,28,2: (ὁ Κλέων) οὐκ ἔφη αὐτὸς, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνον στρατηγεῖν
'Cleon said that it was not he but Nichias who was general'
b. Her. 1,34,1: (Κροῖσος) ἐνόμισε ἑωυτὸν εἶναι ἀνθρώπων ἁπάντων ὀλβιώτατον
'Croesus thought that he was the happiest one of all the men'[37]

I concluded that the transparent position, namely the intervention of the speaker, is shown by the accusative, while the nominative should show an opaque position: "Es ist das Akkusativobjekt ἑωυτόν (lat. *se*), das die Position transparent macht. Beim Fehlen des Akkusativobjekts würde die Position opak bleiben" (Calboli 1997a: 260). Calboli (2005a: 239–243) confirms this. It depends, in my opinion, on the fact that the nominative remains connected as a nominal form with the subject of the verb of saying without intervention of the speaker (transparency corresponds to an intervention of the speaker).

On the other hand, we cannot acknowledge any barrier in either the logical or the Chomskyan sense in the Accusativus cum Infinitivo and Nominativus cum Infinitivo, because in both cases, there is no complementizer such as *quod*, *quia*, *that*, *dass*, *que*, *che*, and no CP (Complementizer Phrase) node to inherit barrierhood from an IP (Inflection Phrase) (Chomsky 1986: 12). Barrierhood probably does not even exist, because an infinitive has no IP. However, Chomsky's (1997: 85f.) next model changes and the CP (*quod*, etc.) is explained not as a barrier, but as something that works like a barrier. I adapted this model to Latin (Calboli 2000: 44ff.) and suggested as a barrier criterion the use of the reflexive pronoun or adjective, *se*, *sibi*, *sui*, *suus* in Latin and ἑαυτοῦ, -ῆς, -οῦ, ἑαυτῷ, -ῇ, -ῷ, ἑαυτόν, -ήν, -ό in Greek. This probably has to do with focus[38] and the fact that the Accusativus cum

37. These two examples, as well as Her. 2,2,1: οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι ἐνόμιζον ἑωυτοὺς πρώτους γενέσθαι πάντων ἀνθρώπων 'the Egyptians believed to have been the first men in the world', prove that Dubuisson (1985: 250) is quite right in thinking that the Accusativus cum Infinitivo stresses an opposition or an emphasis. This seems to be true particularly if both Nominativus cum Infinitivo and Accusativus cum Infinitivo occur together.

38. On focus and related problems, see Geurts and van der Sandt (2004) and the whole first

Infinitivo is a kind of focusing of the nominal form inflected with the accusative. The focusing entails the intervention of the speaker, which could be supposed for the Accusativus cum Infinitivo but not for the Nominativus cum Infinitivo. On the other hand, the use of Accusativus cum Infinitivo in Latin is different from its use in Greek, being much more frequent in Latin than in Greek. Therefore, it appears at first glance that the Nominativus cum Infinitivo employed instead of the usual Accusativus cum Infinitivo must be a clear Graecism based on the structure of the Greek infinitive construction because, I repeat, the employment condition of Nominativus cum Infinitivo in Greek is different from that of the infinitive construction in Latin. Without considering this criterion, Hofmann & Szantyr (1972: 364) also explain this infinitive construction as a Graecism which is typical of poets because it was common in Greek poetry beginning with Homer (cf. also Kühner & Stegmann 1955: 702). Examples in poetry are indeed frequent, starting with Plautus, whereas in prose it first appears in Petronius.

(21) a. Plaut. *Asin.* 633–634: *uiginti minae … / quas hodie adulescens Diabolus ipsi daturus dixit*
'twenty minas young Diabolus promised to pay her (the girl's mother)'[39]

b. Catull. 4,1–2: *phaselus ille, quem uidetis, hospites, / ait fuisse nauium celerrimus*
'the yacht you see, my guests, claims to have been the speediest of ships'

c. Verg. *catal.* 10,1–2: *Sabinus ille, quem uidetis, hospites, / ait fuisse mulio celerrimus*
'Sabinus yonder, whom you see, my guests, claims to have been the speediest of muleteers'

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issue of *Theoretical Linguistics* (Volume 30, 2004), dedicated to a discussion of focus.

39. Fedeli (1980: 373) considers this example less reliable, because the Ambrosianus in this point is lacking. The first certain example would be Catull. 4,2 (21b). The same opinion is shared by Hofmann & Szantyr (1972: 364): "Ältestes Beispiel bleibt wohl die stark rhetorisierende und deutlich den gehobenen Stil verratende Stelle Catull. 4,2: *phaselus ille …*".

d. Verg. *Aen.* 2,377: *sensit medios dilapsus in hostes*
'he knew that he had fallen into the midst of foes'[40]

e. Verg. *Aen.* 4,305–306: *Dissimulare etiam sperasti, perfide, tantum / posse nefas tacitusque mea decedere terra*
'false one! Did you really hope to cloak so foul a crime, and to steal from my land in silence' (trans. Fairclough and Goold)

f. Verg. *Aen.* 11,503–505: *Turne, sui merito si qua est fiducia forti, / audeo et Aeneadum promitto occurrere turmae / solaque Tyrrhenos equites ire obuia contra*
'Turnus, if the brave men may justly put any trust in themselves I dare and promise to face Aeneas's cavalry and ride alone to meet the Tyrrhenean horsemen'

g. Hor. *carm.* 3,27,73: *uxor inuicti Iovis esse nescis*
'you don't realize that you are the wife of invincible Jove'
[Aesch. *suppl.* 917: ξένος μὲν εἶναι πρῶτον οὐκ ἐπίστασαι
'first you don't know that you are foreign' (cf. Nisbet and Rudd 2004: 337)][41]

h. Hor. *epist.* 1,7,22: *uir bonus et sapiens dignis ait esse paratus*
'a good and wise man says that he is ready to help worthy men'[42]

i. Petron. 129,4: *quererer decepta*
'I should feel betrayed and hurt'

40. Brenous (1895: 333–336) considers this construction to be separate from the other infinitive constructions and accepts the idea that this construction was only influenced by Greek, but prepared already by Latin. Nevertheless, he does not hesitate to compare Cic. *ad Brut.* 1,15,2: *quem* (sc. *Brutum*) *cum a me dimittens grauiter ferrem* 'I displeased by sending away Brutus' and *off.* 1,71: *quapropter forsitan et iis concedendum sit rempublicam non capessentibus* 'so perhaps men (of extraordinary genius) must be excused for not taking part in public affairs' with Thuc. 2,16: ἐβαρύνοντο καὶ χαλεπῶς ἔφερον οἰκίας καταλιπόντες 'they could not bear to leave their homes'. However, it seems to me that only the first Cicero example can be compared with Thucydides.

41. This use is called a "gräzisierende Struktur" by Kiessling and Heinze (1958: 371): "*uxor Iouis esse nescis* wie *dignis ait esse paratus ep.* I 7,22 die nach Catulls *phaselus ait* … von den Augusteern öfters dem schwerfälligen Acc.c.inf. vorgezogene gräzisierende Struktur".

42. Mayer (1994: 161) considers *paratus* a Graecism: "the nom. subj. of the infin. after an active verb of speaking is a syntactical Graecism".

At this point, the question arises: why does the Greek Nominativus cum Infinitivo correspond to the Latin Accusativus cum Infinitivo? To answer, we have to take a closer look at the Greek and Latin infinitive. The Greek infinitive has been studied in depth by Burguière (1960) and Kurzová (1966, 1967, 1968). Kurzová divided the Greek infinitive into two great families, the dynamic and the declarative infinitive. Between them is an intermediate zone, where the subject of the infinitive clause is the same as the subject of the main clause, as in Thuc. 1,93,4: ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ... τῆς γὰρ δὴ θαλάσσης πρῶτος ἐτόλμησεν εἰπεῖν ὡς ἀνθεκτέα ἐστί 'indeed it was he who first dared declare that they must apply themselves to the sea'. It seems that the great expansion of the dynamic infinitive produced this construction. But another factor must be considered: the use of the reflexive pronoun. For this purpose Latin specialized the forms *se*, *sui*, *sibi* and the adjective *suus*, while in Greek the same theme, **s(e)welo-*, which produced the reflexive ἕ, οὗ, οἷ, was not strong or frequent enough and had to be strengthened by adding the demonstrative pronoun αὐτός, yielding ἑαυτοῦ, -ῆς, -οῦ, ἑαυτῷ, -ῇ, -ῷ, ἑαυτόν, -ήν, -ό. This fact is related to the great frequency of the Accusativus cum Infinitivo in Latin, and this explanation is confirmed by the fact that in Latin prose, the indirect reflexive pronoun is much more frequent than the direct reflexive, while the contrary is true of Greek prose (see Calboli 2000: 34–53).[43] On the other hand, the Latin Accusativus cum Infinitivo was very frequent because it was not replaced by a clause introduced by ὡς, ὅτι, ὅπως + indicative or optative, as in Greek. Why the Accusativus cum Infinitivo, despite its imprecision, remained prevalent in Latin declarative clauses is a question whose answer depends on extra-linguistic

43. Dubuisson (1985: 251) suggests that the use of the reflexive in Polybius, as in 3 82,2: Φλαμίνιος ... δοξάζων ἑαυτὸν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐναντίων καταφρονεῖσθαι 'Flaminius believing himself to be disdained by the enemies' is completely unnecessary in Greek and therefore is a product of Latin influence. This is because in Greek, the reflexive pronoun is employed only to stress an opposition. This opinion has been accepted by Langslow (2002: 43), who added: Pol. 1,53,10: οἱ δὲ νομίσαντες οὐκ ἀξιόχρεως σφᾶς αὐτοὺς εἶναι πρὸς ναυμαχίαν 'they believing that they were not able to engage in a sea-fight'. I agree with Dubuisson and Langslow.

reasons which remain rather obscure[44] (on these factors, see Calboli 2002: 69–81).

Another question arises. Is this construction a clear and complete Graecism? In my opinion, though it is close to a normal Nominativus cum Infinitivo, it is actually a Graecism. However, perhaps more important than the specific answer to this question is the fact that, through this case, we may see how strong the influence of Greek generally was. As we have seen, the Latin and Greek constructions are in balance, with a small difference between the Accusativus cum Infinitivo, predominating in Latin, and the Nominativus cum Infinitivo, predominating in Greek. Greek was freer than Latin, while Latin was linked to the Accusativus cum Infinitivo and the reflexive pronoun. This explains why modern grammarians oscillate between accepting and rejecting Graecism. I am convinced that the influence of Greek cannot be excluded, but I admit that some Latin constructions like *uolo et esse et haberi gratus* 'I want to be, and to be considered, grateful' (Cic. *fin.* 2,72)[45] are purely Latin, uninfluenced by Greek, and similar to the examples in (21). Brenous, although he tried to find every kind of Graecism, also acknowledged that in some cases the Graecism was complete, while in others, it served only to trigger a half-Latin construction:

> c'est un hellénisme qu'il convient de voir dans Prop. 3,6,39–40: *me quoque consimili impositum torquerier igni / iurabo et bis sex integer esse dies*; Ov. *am.* II,4,14: *spemque dat in molli mobilis esse toro.* Au contraire, c'est par le latin seul que s'expliquent les emplois tels que Ov. *met.* 2,92: *et patrio pater esse metu probor* ['I show myself his father by my fatherly anxiety']; Prop. 4,11,36: *in lapide hoc uni nupta fuisse legar* ['behold the legend on this stone:

44. I have suggested (Calboli 2002: 81) that the rapid development of Latin literature forced Roman writers to use the language they had at their disposal without having time for an expansion of the grammar. Moreover, this literature was mostly poetry, using a kind of language not adapted to declarative expressions introduced by *quod, quia*, etc. The traditional language of the *Senatus Consulta* and of the poetic literature blocked every change until Late Latin (on the development of the construction of *quod*, *quia* + finite verb, see Cuzzolin [1991, 1994]).
45. On this construction, see Kühner & Stegmann (1955: 667, 670). A clearer example with a change of dependent clause is Cic. *ad Brut.* 206: *idem Aelius Stoicus ⟨esse⟩ uoluit, orator autem nec studuit unquam nec fuit* 'Aelius was, besides, a professed Stoic and had no ambition to be an orator'.

> "To one and one alone was she espoused"']. Tout au plus peut-on admettre que le grec a contribué à l'extension, depuis Salluste, de la construction personnelle avec le passif des *verba declarandi et sentiendi.* (Brenous 1895: 331)

Some passages where both the Accusativus cum Infinitivo and the Nominativus cum Infinitivo occur together confirm this situation. For example, Nominativus cum Infinitivo is employed by Propertius, a poet with a particularly complicated style, after an Accusativus cum Infinitivo:

(22) Prop. 3,6,37–40: *reporta / iram, non fraudes esse in amore meo, / me quoque consimili impositum torquerier igni: / iurabo bis sex integer esse dies*[46]
'bear back this message that my passion may have stooped to anger, but never to guile, that I am tormented by like flame to hers: I will swear that for twice six days I have known no woman' (trans. Butler)

On this construction, see Kühner & Stegmann (1955: 702), Hofmann & Szantyr (1972: 364). Moreover, Hofmann & Szantyr present the type (21g) after the other examples, considering both types (Nominativus cum Infinitivo and perfect passive participle) Graecisms ("Ebenso ist Gräzismus der Typus mit Part.Perf. Pass. bzw. Depon. ohne *esse*"). Leumann (1959: 146) believes that the perfect passive participle construction is a syntactic Graecism, and Löfstedt also (1942: 414) regards examples of both types as clear Graecisms and connected them. More recently, Fedeli explained this construction as a Graecism: "Therefore, it seems logical to deduce that the Latin poets took the construction of the Nominativus cum Infinitivo from the Greek authors, in which it is normal from Homer onward" [trans. P.B. & P.C.]. A middle path has been followed by Norberg (1943: 46f.), who explains this construction by connecting it with the type *gaudeo esse discipulus* and considers it a Latin formation influenced by Greek when used by the Roman poets Catullus, Vergil, and Propertius. Coleman (1975: 139f.) recognizes that this usage was influenced by Greek but also accepts that "Catullan and Horatian examples can ... be seen synchronically as an extension from *uolebat celerrimus esse* ... and diachronically as the revival of an obsolete *dixit celerrimus esse*".

46. On this passage, see Fedeli (1985: 224f.; see also Fedeli 1980: 372f.).

This explanation was already presented by Wackernagel (1950 [1926]: 11); the constructions in (21a)–(21b) are accepted in Latin because this language had the Nominativus cum Infinitivo.[47] There is thus a choice between complete and semi-Graecism explanations, where even the defenders of the Latin explanation must admit that Graecism encouraged this use by the Classical poets and made them more fully open to Hellenic forms. My analysis adds the concept of binding. From this point of view, the transparent position is expressed by the accusative (Accusativus cum Infinitivo), while the nominative (Nominativus cum Infinitivo) remains in an opaque position. However, the Accusativus cum Infinitivo clause is challenged by the clause introduced by the conjunctions ὡς, ὅτι, ὅπως, *quod*, *quia*, etc. These constructions are also opaque. I then observed that the linguistic situations of Latin and Greek differ because in Latin, the Accusativus cum Infinitivo is not merely much more extensive than in Greek; it is nearly the only declarative expression (other than the *quod, quia* declarative with certain verbs, such as *accedit*, *addo*, *admiror*, *miror*, *bene facio*, *laetor*, *gaudeo*, *doleo*, *irascor*, *suscenseo*, etc.; Kühner & Stegmann 1955: 273–279). The replacement by a Nominativus cum Infinitivo is easier in Greek because in Greek the Accusativus cum Infinitivo is strongly challenged by other constructions with ὅ, ὡς, ὅτι, ὅπως + indicative or optative (see Calboli 1966: 338–341). In fact, in Latin the Nominativus cum Infinitivo is possible only when it depends on the verbs *uolo*, *nolo*, *malo*, *cupio*, and the like, where strong reference to the main subject is warranted by the meaning of the verb: they do not convey a clear propositional attitude – or rather, an expression like *volo et esse et haberi gratus* cannot be considered a statement like what Bertrand Russell called "propositional attitude":

47. I quote the interesting passage by Wackernagel, which to me seems correct and worthy of special attention: "Wir haben hier die Konstruktion eines Nominativus cum infinitivo mit dem aktiven Verbum des Sagens. Dies ist unlateinisch; nicht bloss in der lateinischen Prosa des Cicero, auch bei Plautus und in der volkstümlichen Rede der älteren Zeit ist nichts Vergleichbares zu finden. Dagegen hat sich dieser Nominativ c.inf. bei den Kunstdichtern grosser Beliebtheit erfreut. Er ist dem griechischen Gebrauch nachgebildet; aber die Nachbildung war möglich, weil in andern Fällen im Latein ein Nominativ c.inf. üblich war. Es handelte sich also nicht um etwas ganz Neues, sondern um Erweiterung und Abänderung eines lateinischen Gebrauchs" (Wackernagel 1950: 11).

'x believes that . . . ', 'x denies that . . . ', 'x says that . . . ', x knows that . . . '.[48] There is thus a gulf between verbs of the type *volo* and verbs of the type *dico*, and to bridge this gulf, something different is required: the external influence of Greek. However, the Accusativus cum Infinitivo in Latin is so strong that it is possible even with verbs like *volo*, as in Cic. *off.* 1,113: *Vlixes . . . cum . . . omnibus adfabilem et iucundum esse se uellet* 'Ulysses strove to be courteous and pleasant to all'.

Let us consider again the new criterion previously developed. In light of the observation by Geurts (1998), that a *de re* interpretation exists only because a *de dicto* interpretation can be given of the same sentence, these two infinitival constructions and the clauses introduced by ὡς, ὅτι, *quod*, *quia*, etc., have, on the one hand, specific differences, and, on the other, relative convertibility of one construction into the other. Therefore, from the point of view of the theory of language, Graecism is necessary to bridge the various gulfs which existed in Latin. This means that Graecism cannot be denied, from either the historical or the theoretical point of view. I have thus tried to answer not only the question of whether these constructions are complete or partial Graecisms, but also the general problem of Graecism by introducing the concept of Graecism as reduced influence (in the time and the number of users); nonetheless the influence was strong enough to tip a construction originally balanced between Latin and Greek sufficiently to overcome certain conditions which had blocked the sway of Latin toward Greek.

As regards the Nominativus cum Infinitivo, the nominative is not restricted to the verbs listed above but occurs with others as well, even in Cicero: Cic. *Tusc.* 2,60: *Heracleotes Dionysius, cum a Zenone fortis esse didicisset, a dolore dedoctus est* 'Dionysius of Heraclea, after learning from Zeno to be brave' (cf. Kühner & Stegmann 1955: 679).

I therefore think that Coleman's diachronic statement is correct, because the type *dixit celerrimus esse* (vs. the correct form *ait fuisse nauium celerrimus* seen in (21b)) is present in Plautus, although Coleman, like many others, disregards and perhaps does not accept it, as in (21a): Plaut. *Asin.* 633–634: *uiginti minae . . . / quas hodie adulescens Diabolus ipsi daturus*

48. See Reichenbach (1966: 277).

dixit 'twenty minas young Diabolus promised to pay her today (for letting no one else but him have my girl)'.

On the contrary, it was quite incompatible with the nature of Latin to use the nominative *celerrimus* instead of the accusative *celerrimum* in (21b), and therefore this usage can only be explained as a complete Graecism. To be sure, this usage is restricted to poetry, a kind of language with greater freedom and in which a stronger connection with the Greek model was not only accepted, but considered to be a mark of good quality; poetic works contain many other references to Greek literature, as rightly noted by Coleman (1975: 139). In this case, it is useful to repeat Rosén's words:

> Literary Graecisms, whether lexical, syntactic or other, are to a large degree part of literary imitation, and although these can often be easily held apart from the naturalized Greek features which became part and parcel of Literary Latin, not being confined to a single author's style or to one specific literary genre, it is a fact that Graecisms of both kinds can be born of a desire to emulate a literary model or to come close to a certain norm, definable in literary terms. (Rosén 1999: 21)

2.3 Other uses of the infinitive construction

The influence of Greek in the use of the infinitive clause is similar because it primarily concerns the dynamic infinitive. The earliest occurrence of a dynamic infinitive stimulated by a similar Greek construction is the use of an infinitive in a substantive function, where it is connected with a neuter pronoun. The substantival infinitive, corresponding to Greek article + infinitive, as in Plat. *Gorg.* 483c: τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ ἀδικεῖν, τὸ πλέον τῶν ἄλλων ζητεῖν ἔχειν 'the injustice means trying to have more than the others' (Kühner & Gerth 1955: 43), either present or perfect (e.g., Sen. *epist.* 98,11: *habere eripitur, habuisse numquam*) has been explained as a Graecism by both Brenous (1895: 341–345) and Hofmann & Szantyr (1972: 343). They note two peculiarities of the construction. First, it is specific to philosophical works (it is not found in Caesar, Sallust, Livy, the other historians, or the orators), sometimes with a pronoun like *ipsum*, *tuum*, *hoc*, *totum*, or (in Late Latin) *illud*; Cic. *de orat.* 2,24: *hoc ipsum nihil agere et plane cessare delectat* 'it is just this inaction and utter idleness that charm me'. Second, the idiom is present

in Vulgar Latin, as established by Plaut. *Curc.* 28: *tuum amare* ‘your love affairs’, Petron. 28,3: *Trimalchio hoc suum propinasse*[49] *dicebat* ‘Trimalchio said that this was drinking to his own health’, 52,3: *meum enim intellegere nulla pecunia uendo* ‘for I do not sell my connoisseurship for any price’, Gell. 11,5,8: *ipsum illud nihil posse comprehendi* ‘the very fact that nothing can be comprehended’ (this example is called a clear imitation of Greek by Hofmann & Szantyr 1972: 344: “deutliche Nachahmung des Griech.”). Brenous seems correct to say that this usage is strange for Latin (of course it depends on the absence of an article in Latin): “Il n’était guère dans le génie du latin d’employer l’infinitif comme un substantif” (Brenous 1895: 344). The Scholiast to Persius pointed out the Greek aspect of this construction: Pers. 1,9: *tunc, cum ad canitiem et nostrum istud uiuere triste / aspexi*, Schol. *Figura Graeca est pro ‘nostram vitam tristem’* ‘when I look at these gray hairs of ours, and this dreary way of living ... this is a Greek figure instead of “our dreary life” ’.

The infinitive of purpose must be considered a Graecism in some circumstances treated by Brenous (1895: 272–287) and Hofmann & Szantyr (1972: 343–353). Brenous (1895: 275) restricts it to Classical and post-Classical poets and Christian authors, but Hofmann & Szantyr (1972: 344f.) point out that it occurs with movement verbs already in Archaic authors such as Plautus, Terence (mostly in the spoken-language formula *eo uisere*, as in: Ter. *Hec.* 189: *it uisere ad eam* ‘[my wife] went to call on her’), and in the historians.

(23) a. Plaut. *Asin.* 910: *ecquis currit pollictorem accersere*
‘run, someone, and fetch the undertaker’
b. Plaut. *Bacch.* 631: *militis parasitus modo uenerat aurum petere hinc*
‘the captain’s parasite has just been here to request the money’
c. Ter. *Eun.* 528: *misit porro orare ut uenirem serio*
‘she has sent begging me earnestly to go’

49. I prefer to read *propinasse* with Bücheler, Friedlaender, Ernout, and Scarsi – *propin esse* is the reading by Heraeus (*RhM* 70 [1915]: 25–28), Müller, and Giardina – because there is no significant reason to reject the reading of MSH *propinasse*. However, *propin* (= προπιεῖν), which is actually very close to *propinasse* (in the form *propin esse*), would also be an infinitive, but a Greek one.

d. Calp. *hist.* 27 *HRR*: *uenisse uisere*
'(it is said) that (Cn. Flavius) came to visit (the colleague who was ill)'
e. Cael. *hist.* 12: *mittit uisere*
'(Sempronius) omits to visit'
f. Lucr. 3,895–896: *nec dulces occurrent oscula nati / praeripere*
'nor sweet children run up to snatch the first kisses' (considered an archaism by Hofmann & Szantyr 1972: 345)
g. Verg. *Aen.* 1,527–528: *non nos aut ferro Libycos populare Penates / uenimus aut raptas ad litora uertere praedas*
'we have not come to spoil with the sword your African homes or to drive stolen booty to the shore'
h. Prop. 1,6,33–34: *seu pedibus terras seu pontum carpere remis / ibis*
'whether thou rangest the land on foot or goest forth to lash the sea with oars' (trans. Butler)
i. Hor. *carm.* 1,23,9–10: *atqui non ego te tigris ut aspera / Gaetulusue leo frangere persequor*
'but I am not pursuing you like a fierce tiger or a Gaetulian lion to crunch you up' (trans. Rudd)

The verbs connected with such an infinitive in later poets, such as Valerius Flaccus, Silius Italicus, Lucan, and Claudian, are not only *ire*, *uenire*, *ruere* but also *meare*, *uolare*, *concurrere*. This construction was avoided by Tacitus, both Pliny the Elder and the Younger, and Suetonius, but was used frequently by Hyginus and Christian authors such as Jerome (Brenous 1895: 276). Hofmann & Szantyr (1972: 345) write that it occurs in texts linked with Greek, such as *Vulg. act.* 13,44: *paene uniuersa ciuitas conuenit audire uerbum Dei* (σχεδὸν πᾶσα ἡ πόλις συνήχθη ἀκοῦσαι τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ) (*ThLL* IV 825,16–18). Moreover, it was extended beyond strict verbs of movement, as in Hor. *carm.* 1,26,1–3: *tristitiam et metus / tradam proteruis in mare Creticum / portare uentis* 'I shall fling gloom and fear to the turbulent winds to carry them into the Cretan sea' (compared by Nisbet and Hubbard 1970: 304 with Theocr. 29,35: αἰ δὲ ταῦτα φέρην ἀνέμοισιν ἐπιτρέπῃς). On *dare* + infinitive, as in Cato *agr.* 89,23: *bibere dato* (Kühner & Stegmann 1955: 681), see Brenous (1895: 278–284), who believes that this

construction was not fully Latin and developed under the influence of Greek epic poetry (Homer) (Brenous 1895: 281). However, it is not easy to consider a construction a Graecism that in the formula *dare bibere* occurs already in Cato, though in other expressions seems to occur among the Latin prose writers only in Vitr. 7,10,4: *faex … atramenti colorem dabit imitari* (Kühner & Stegmann 1955: 681). I would suggest the same caveat about the list of verbs given by Brenous (1895: 285–321).

More secure as Graecisms are constructions in which the infinitive is connected with adjectives, as in Lucil. 414: *soluere nulli lentus* (βραδὺς λέγειν). Hofmann & Szantyr (1972: 350) take this construction for a Graecism because in many cases they found Greek correspondences, as in Verg. *georg.* 1,284: *septima …felix* (sc. *dies*) *et ponere uitem* 'the seventh (day) is lucky for planting the vine', Hes. *op*. 811–13: εἰνὰς … / ἐσθλὴ μὲν γάρ θ' ἥ γε φυτευέμεν ἠδὲ γενέσθαι / ἀνέρι τ' ἠδὲ γυναικί 'the ninth day is good, either for plantings, or for the birth of a man or woman'; Verg. *ecl.* 5,1–2: *boni quoniam conuenimus ambo / tu calamos inflare leuis, ego dicere uersus* 'now that we have met, good men both, you at blowing on the slender reeds, I at singing verses', Theocr. 8,4: ἄμφω συρίσδεν δεδαημένω, ἄμφω ἀείδεν, see Brenous 1895: 325); Hor. *carm.* 1,19,8: *et uultus nimium lubricus aspici* 'and her face which is all too unsettling to behold'; *carm.* 2,4,10–12: *ademptus Hector / tradidit fessis leuiora tolli / Pergama Grais* 'the removal of Hector had made Troy's citadel easier to capture for the battle-weary Greeks' – here, as in some other passive infinitives, Hofmann & Szantyr (1972: 351) acknowledge a definite Graecism (substantiated, I would add, by some similar passages, *loci similes,* in Greek authors whom it is easy to suppose Horace depended on). For Hor. *carm.* 1,19,8, a parallel has been suggested by Nisbet and Hubbard (1970: 241) in a comic fragment (*adesp*. 222 K.), and for *carm.* 2,4,11, a clear allusion to Hom. *Il.* 24,243–244: ῥηΐτεροι γὰρ μᾶλλον Ἀχαιοῖσιν δὴ ἔσεσθε / κείνου τεθνηῶτος ἐναιρέμεν 'yourselves too shall know it, for easier shall ye be, now he is dead, for the Achaeans to slay' (cf. Nisbet and Hubbard 1978: 72). Brenous (1895: 325) suggests that the construction *dignus* + infinitive is an imitation of the Greek ἄξιος + infinitive (Kühner & Gerth 1995: 13), examples in *ThLL* V,1. 1152,32–70. In this case, the Graecism consists only of a kind of triggering of a similar use of the infinitive. There may be some semi-Graecisms, that is, Graecisms that served as an "analogy" for developing constructions that were originally Greek but

easily grew in Latin because they were not alien to Latin at all. That is the position defended by Brugmann (1895: 100). Löfstedt (1933: 409) agrees with Brugmann in this case and in some others but considers the criterion narrow ("als allgemeine Begriffbestimmung ist sie zu eng"). It seems to me that Löfstedt is right, but also that this criterion depends on the time of development of the particular Graecism.

After the pre-Literary Latin period, a kind of Greek literature developed in Rome with the translation and adaptation of many Greek tragedies and comedies. The presence of Graecisms in such works is expected, but we must consider the details of this expansion of Greek literature in Rome and the details of syntactic Graecism found in Ennius, Plautus, Terence, Livius Andronicus, Naevius, Pacuvius, and Accius, including the *Annalium confectores*. From this point on, we must consider the genres and the different authors in some detail.

Another Graecism pertaining to the infinitive is suggested by Brenous (1895: 336–341): the use of the perfect infinitive instead of the present, which can be found from the time of Lucretius and Catullus to the Classical and Silver periods (occasionally in Virgil, and frequently in Ovid and the Latin of the Silver Age), as in (24) and many other examples.

(24) a. Lucr. 3,68–69: *unde homines dum se falso terrore coacti / effugisse uolunt longe longeque remosse*
'men, spurred by a false fear, desire to flee far from them and to remove themselves' (ed. Bailey)

b. Catull. 69,1–2: *noli admirari quare tibi femina nulla / Rufe, uelit tenerum supposuisse femur*
'you should not wonder, Rufus, why no woman wants to lay her soft thigh under you'

c. Hor. *carm.* 3,4,51–52: *tendentes opaco / Pelion imposuisse Olympo*
'who strove to place Pelion on top of leafy Olympus'
ars 168: *commisisse cauet quod mox mutare laboret*
'he is wary of doing what he may soon strive to change'
ars 455: *uesanum tetigisse timent figiuntque poetam*
'(men of discerment) are afraid to touch a "mad" poet and they avoid him'

d. Verg. *Aen.* 6,78–79: *bacchatur uates, magnum si pectore possit / excussisse deum*
'the prophetess storms wildly in the cavern, if so she may shake the mighty god from her breast'

e. Ov. *met.* 14,571: *nec te, Lauinia uirgo, / sed uicisse petunt*
'nor you, Lavinia maiden, do they seek, but only victory'

Hofmann & Szantyr (1972: 352) object that this construction is very old in Latin since it appears as early as Plautus, Cato (*agr.* 5,4: *ne quid emisse uelit*), and the language of law, such as the *S.C. de Bacchanalibus*; is connected with forbidding expressions; and was expanded in Classical poetry because of its metrical properties. It is true that Servius on Verg. *Aen.* 6,79 calls this construction a *Graeca figura*, but Norden (1957: 147) rejects this explanation, asserting that it is Latin, close to the Latin type *id ne quis fecisse uellet*, extended to the verb *posse*: Plaut. *Aul.* 828: *non potes probasse nugas* 'you cannot pass with your baubles'. Brink (1971: 181) notes that the perfect infinitive is a metrically convenient alternative to the present, as in Lucr. 3,69 and Catull. 69,2. A very good survey of the reasons for Horace to use a perfect infinitive can be found in Nisbet and Rudd (2004: 226f.), who take into account not only metrical convenience but also the punctual aspect of the Greek aorist infinitive and compare this infinitive with prohibitive expressions and therefore with the modal aspect of the question. Nisbet and Rudd also mention the use of the perfect infinitive in a letter found in Vindolanda (Bowman and Thomas 1996: 324: *cras quid uelis nos fecisse rogo, domine, praecipias* 'my Lord, I beg you to say what you want us to make tomorrow'), which is clearly neither a literary affectation nor a Graecism. However, it is also true that in this example, the connection with the key verb *velle* – that is, the modal aspect – matters more than any other connection. For the modal aspect, see Calboli (1968: 299 [trans. P.B & P.C.]):

> The picture [the framework concerning the prohibitive use of the subjunctive] would not be complete without mentioning the aorist uses of the perfect active infinitive in prohibitive sentences, as in *S.C. de Bacch.* 4: *neiquis eorum* [*B*]*acanal habuise uelet* ['let none of them be minded to keep a lodge of Bacchus' (ed. Warmington)], then its spread to other types of propositions, as in Lucr. 3,69: *homines* [...] *effugisse uolunt* 'men ... desire to flee far' [1a] (cf. Thomas 1938: 129–131; Ronconi 1959: 85sg.; Hofmann & Szantyr

1972: 351–353). This usage was then extended pervasively for metrical convenience in the poets. Fundamental in this respect is A. A. Howard's (1890: 120–122) study and sample of verbs that would be metrically inappropriate if they occurred in the present infinitive. Howard points out the frequency of the perfect infinitive in the second hemistichion of the pentameter and the impossibility of many present infinitives, replaced for this reason by perfect infinitives, even to fit into the hexameter since they form a cretic or a tribrach, cf. also W. Kroll 1924: 257.

Coleman (1975: 133) explains this usage similarly: its increased frequency in Latin poetry is due to the influence of Greek literary models. He too acknowledges that Latin poets employed free variation of present and perfect, as in Hor. *epist.* 1,1,41–42: *uirtus est uitium **fugere** et sapientia prima / stultitia **caruisse*** 'it is virtue to escape vice and the first mark of wisdom to have got free of folly', and that metrical convenience favored the -*isse* forms in poetry. We can therefore exclude Graecism in this case or suppose greatly reduced influence on its genesis, with such influence playing a more important role in its expansion.

2.4 The participle

The expression in (21d), *sensit medios dilapsus in hostes*, offers the opportunity to discuss another Graecism, the use of a participle with verbs of perception and in general. As for the first aspect, (21d) can be compared with the Greek not only because of the nominative case, but also because this usage is similar to the Greek construction οἶδα θνητὸς ὢν 'I knew that I was mortal', as in (25).

(25) Thuc. 7,47,1: 47: οἱ δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγοὶ ... Τοῖς τε γὰρ ἐπιχειρήμασιν ἑώρων οὐ κατορθοῦντες καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀχθομένους τῇ μονῇ
'the Athenian generals saw that they were not succeeding in their undertaking, and that the soldiers were finding their stay burdensome' (trans. Smith)

This Greek usage is compared with (21d) by Kühner & Gerth (1995: 49). Coleman (1975: 145f.) notes that this Graecism was well adapted to the situation presented by Virgil in this passage:

> The Graecism provides both conciseness and Greek colour appropriate to the epic register especially in this Homeric context of the fall of Troy. However, the acc. + inf. construction was both well-established and productive in classical Latin, and what subsequently replaced it in most of its usages was the finite *quod*-clause . . . , which had even fewer morphological links with the participial system. Hence this Graecism remained unproductive and recurs only rarely and in distinctly Hellenizing idiolects in later Latin, e.g. Apuleius's *percussi sero sentitis*. (*Met.* 4,34)

This line of Virgil and Coleman's commentary raise two important aspects of our question. First, use of the participle in Latin was still influenced by Greek, an aspect of the syntactic influence of Greek already considered by Brenous (1895: 349–356). Second, Ammianus Marcellinus, a native speaker of Greek who wrote in Latin, used the participial constructions with unusual frequency, sometimes the *quod* + indicative/subjunctive type instead of Accusativus cum Infinitivo. Mugler (1935, 1936, 1938) provided a detailed study of the stylistic use of the participle in Greek and Latin, though Hofmann & Szantyr (1972: 384) express some criticism.[50] I use Mugler's statistical data. Brenous demonstrates that the use of the present participle in Latin was influenced and encouraged by the corresponding use of the Greek participle (Brenous 1895: 353f.), for example after *quippe* (Hor. *carm.* 1,31,13) like the Greek ἅτε + participle,[51] and as a substitute for the perfect active participle, which did not exist in Latin (Hofmann & Szantyr 1972: 387).

(26) Hor. *carm.* 1,31,13–15: *dis carus ipsis, quippe ter et quater / anno reuisens aequor Atlanticum / inpune*
'dear, as he is, to the gods themselves, since, of course, he visits the Atlantic ocean three or four times a year and returns in safety' (trans. Rudd)

Another passage of Horace quoted by Brenous (1895: 354) is worth considering.

50. The major contribution of Mugler's research is his distinction among different literary genres in the use of the participle. The conjunct participle and absolute ablative are heavily reduced in juridical Latin, see Reggio (2002: 178–189).
51. See Nisbet and Hubbard (1970: 355).

(27) Hor. *carm.* 3,16,29–32: *purae riuus aquae siluaque iugerum / paucorum et segetis certa fides meae / fulgentem imperio fertilis Africae / fallit sorte beatior*
'a stream of clear water, a few acres of woodland, a harvest that never lets me down – this is a more fortunate lot, though the glittering lord of fertile Africa is not aware of it' (trans. Rudd)

These lines can be understood only if the expression *fallit sorte beatior* is assimilated to the Greek construction of the verb λανθάνω, as observed by Kiessling and Heinze (1959: 329) and Nisbet and Rudd (2004: 209), who wrote:

> The poet's modest property 'escape the notice' of the big landowner 'as being a more blessed allocation'. In Greek, one could say λανθάνω σε ὀλβιώτερος ὤν 'I escape your notice being more fortunate', but *esse* lacks a present participle,[52] and so the construction is less clear.

More difficult to qualify as due to Greek influence is the expansion of the future participle, which Brenous (1895: 351) ascribes to the imitation of Greek. It is not easy to recognize a Graecism here; it is rather a normal development of the Latin participle. On the participle in *-tūrus,* see Calboli (1962: 129–138) and Hofmann & Szantyr (1972: 390f., 851), who discuss a possible connection with the Greek adjective in -τέον in some cases where the Latin future participle is used without inflection, as in Gracch. ORF[4] Malc. 184: *credo ego inimicos meos hoc dicturum* 'I believe that my enemies will say that'; cf. *Luc.* 5,38: οἶνον νέον εἰς ἀσκοὺς καινοὺς βλητέον (Adrados 1992: 624); such a connection is very difficult to accept.

52. Caesar – I add – tried to introduce the participle *ens* of the verb *sum*, as noticed by Priscianus, *gramm.* III 239,7–9: *Caesar non incongrue protulit 'ens' a verbo 'sum es', quomodo a uerbo 'possum potes, potens'* (Funaioli 1907: 156). Was this suggestion inspired by Greek? The context of Priscian's observation is: *Graeci autem participio utuntur substantivo:* Ἀπολλώνιος ὢν διδάσκεις, Τρύφων ὢν μανθάνεις, *quo nos quoque secundum analogiam possemus uti, nisi usus deficeret participi frequens. quamuis Caesar* eqs. 'the Greeks, however, use the participle as a substantive: Ἀπολλώνιος ὢν διδάσκεις, Τρύφων ὢν μανθάνεις ('you, being Apollonius, teach; you, being Tryphon, learn'). Also we could use the participle by employing analogy, but we do not frequently use the participle, though Caesar etc.'.

These are not important uses. More interesting is the use of the participle by Ammianus Marcellinus, who employed all kinds of participles with such great frequency that it cannot be explained as anything but a result of the influence of Greek. Some examples are in (28).

(28) a. Amm. 24,1,10: *miles quidam, cum Maximianus perrupisset quondam Persicos fines, in his locis aeger* ***relictus****, prima etiam tum lanugine iuuenis, ut aiebat, uxores* ***sortitus*** *gentis ritu conplures, cum numerosa subole tunc senex incuruus,* ***exultans****, proditionisque auctor, ducebatur ad nostra, testibus* ***adfirmans*** *et praescisse se olim et praedixisse, quod centenario iam contiguus, sepelietur in solo Romano*
'among them was a soldier who, when in former times Maximianus made an inroad into the Persian territory, had been left in these parts because of illness; **he** was then a young man, whose beard was just beginning to grow. **He** had been given several wives (as **he** told us) according to the custom of the country, and was on our arrival a bent old man with numerous offspring. **He** was overjoyed, having advised the surrender, and when taken to our camp, **he** called several to witness that **he** had known and declared long ago that **he**, when nearly a hundred years old, would find a grave on Roman soil' (trans. Rolfe)

b. Amm. 31,7,12–13: *barbarique ut reparabiles semper et celeres, ingentes clauas in nostros* ***conicientes*** *ambustas, mucronesque acrius* ***resistentium*** *pectoribus* ***inlidentes****, sinistrum cornu perrumpunt: quod inclinatum subsidialis robustissimus globus, e propinquo latere fortiter* ***excitus****,* ***haerente*** *iam morte ceruicibus sustentauit.* ***feruente*** *igitur densis caedibus proelio, in confertos quisque promptior* ***ruens****, ritu grandinis undique* ***uolantibus*** *telis oppetebat et gladiis, et sequebantur equites hinc inde* ***fugientium*** *occipitia lacertis ingentibus* ***praecidentes*** *et terga*
'the barbarians, who are always alert and nimble, threw at our men huge clubs, hardened in the fire, and ran their swords through the breasts of **those** who showed most resistance; thus **they** broke through the left wing. When this gave way, a strong

> troop of reserves bravely hastened to **their** aid from near at hand, and rallied **them** when death already sat upon **their** necks. Then the battle grew hot and the slaughter was great; all the more active rushed into the thick of the fray and met **their** death from the javelins that flew like hail, or from the swords. **Those** who fled were pursued on this side and on that by troops of cavalry, who with mighty strength slashed at **their** heads and backs'[53]

Mugler (1938: 145f.) explains this frequent use of the participle as a Graecism:

> J'ai démontré ... que cet écrivain se sert du participe en général dans une proportion qui dépasse de loin l'usage de tous les auteurs antérieurs ... J'avais montré a cette occasion [Mugler 1934, 1935], en citant quelques exemples d'hellénismes dans des constructions participials simples, que la raison principale de cette prédilection pour le participe était l'origine grecque de l'auteur.

Mugler's explanation has been confirmed by Blomgren (1937) and more recently by Debru (1992) and den Boeft (1992).[54] Moreover, den Boeft, although he recognizes the use of participles as one of Ammianus's Graecisms, demonstrates, by comparing some passages from Libanius and Gregorius Nazianzenus, that the frequent use of the participle by Greek authors was a phenomenon of Ammianus's time. Suetonius anticipated Ammianus in the frequency of the "part. apposées" (see Debru 1992: 276). It seems, therefore, that this Graecism lies not in the simple use of the participle, but in its excessive frequency: another case of a Latin-origin Graecism. However, the use of *quod* + indicative is a complete Graecism, encountered at the end of (28a). Ammianus employed clauses introduced by *quod* as an alternative to the Accusativus cum Infinitivo. Ehrismann (1886: 67ff.) collected 67 examples. However, Ammianus used this construction only for the sake of variety,

53. It is worth noting how many pronouns are used in English in comparison to Latin. This depends on the use of the participles in the Latin of Ammianus.
54. On the use of participle by Ammianus see, in addition to Mugler (1934–1935: 48ff., 1938: 145–155), Blomgren (1937: 79–82), Debru (1992: 276–287), and den Boeft (1992: 14–16).

as Hagendahl (1921: 18f.) correctly observed, because it occurs frequently in the same passage as the Accusativus cum Infinitivo, as in (29).

(29) Amm. 18,6,16: *inuenimus militem, qui … pandit rerum integram fidem docetque* ***quod*** *apud Parisios natus in Gallis, et equestri militans turma, uindictam quondam commissi facinoris timens, ad Persas* ***abierat*** *profugus, exindeque morum probitate spectata, sortita coniuge liberisque susceptis, speculatorem* ***se missum*** *ad nostra, saepe ueros nuntios* ***reportasse***
'we found a soldier. He told the whole truth, saying that he was born at Paris in Gaul and served in a cavalry troop; but in fear of punishment for a fault that he had once committed he had deserted to the Persians. Then, being found to be of upright character, and to have married and reared children, he was sent as a spy to our territories and often brought back trustworthy news' (trans. Rolfe)

What is important, however, is that the *quod* constructions, usually using the indicative, also seem to have been used with the subjunctive. This is confirmed by examples where both moods depend on the same verb, as in (30). This detail was pointed out by Ehrismann (1886: 66–69) and Reiter (1887: 45f.).

(30) Amm. 29,2,12: *nec tamen post haec tam paenitenda, repressius actum est uel pudenter, non* ***reputante*** *alta nimium potestate,* ***quod*** *recte institutis ne cum inimicorum quidem incommodis, in delicta* ***conuenit*** *ruere uoluntaria, nihilque* ***sit*** *tam iniquum*[55] *quam ad ardua imperii supercilia, etiam acerbitatem naturae adiungi*
'yet after these so lamentable events, Valens acted with no more restraint or shame; since excessive power does not reflect that it is unworthy for men of right principles, even to the disadvantage of their enemies, willingly to plunge into crime, and that nothing is so ugly as for a cruel nature to be joined to lofty pride of power'

This means that Ammianus used the *quod* construction almost entirely as a Greek expression and not as a tool for distinguishing between the assumption

55. *Iniquum* Gelenius, omisit V.

and avoidance of responsibility. A clear expression of responsibility based on the difference between indicative and subjunctive, which was not possible with the Accusativus cum Infinitivo, has been considered, by Cuzzolin and myself, one of the reasons for the replacement of the Accusativus cum Infinitivo by the *quod* construction. But for Ammianus, who alternated indifferently between indicative and subjunctive, this purpose is rightly excluded by Reiter (1887: 45) and Ehrismann (1886: 43f.), who both recognize exclusively *variandi cupiditas* in Ammianus.[56]

In fact, the development of the *quod* construction was a normal development within Latin, a development that had arrived in Greek some centuries before. I do not exclude this consideration, nor underestimate the value of the examples and discussions stretching from Mayen (1889) to Cuzzolin (1994), but, not one example of *quod*, *quia*, etc. + finite verb exists where we exclude any influence of Greek. Of course, we must also concede the fact that Vulgar Latin and its speakers in the Roman Empire, such as C. Eunus in the Murecine documents, were sometimes influenced by Greek.[57]

Another problem arises, as pointed out by Adams (2003: 726–729), that can be related to the fact that Greek-speakers mastered the participle better than Latin-speakers. This appears in a Latin translation of two fables of Babrius, where five participles render the corresponding Greek participles erroneously by employing the Latin perfect participle incorrectly with an active instead of a passive meaning (they are not deponent verbs).

(31) Babrius 16,3f.: λύκος δ' **ἀκούσας** τήν τε γραῦν ἀληθεύειν **νομίσας** ἔμεινεν ὡς ἕτοιμα δειπνήσων, κτλ.
luppus autem ***auditus*** *anucellam uere dictu*[*m*] **/** ***putatus*** *ma*[*n*]*sit quasi parata cenaret* (Amherst Papyri, Grenfell-Hunt, II, p. 27)
'the wolf listened to the old woman, believing that she told the truth, remained to have the prepared supper'

56. See also Calboli (2002: 85). The high artfulness of Ammianus' language explains this use of the participle, which depends on both Greek influence and the historical tradition. See Chausserie-Laprée (1969: 158–167).

57. See Calboli (1999: 341ff.). Of course by Graecism I mean either a simple imitation of Greek usage or the imitation of a construction that was developing naturally in the Latin language anyway. The *quod* + finite verb construction belongs to the second type, Ammianus's usage excluded.

The participles, incorrectly translated with a perfect participle without considering the diathetic difference, are the following: *auditus* (ἀκούσας), *putatus* (νομίσας), *tolitus* (ἄρας), *succensus* (ἅψας), *alligatus* (προσδήσας). Adams (2003: 726) suggests that the Latin translation could be an exercise in language learning. In that case, the mistakes are less significant but confirm some difficulty (syntactic or morphological?) in recognizing the more complicated and richer Greek participles. The example must be taken as an indirect attestation of Graecism.

In the last pages of his book on syntactic Graecism, Brenous (1895: 394–428) discusses the influence of Greek on the use of Latin adverbs and adjectives in relation to the participle. The reason Latin employed the adverb as an adjective or the adjective as an adverb was, in Brenous's opinion, the lack of an article and of a present participle of 'to be', and the limited use of the present participle of all Latin verbs. The former kind of replacement can be found in Ter. *Andr.* 175–176: *eri semper lenitas / uerebar quorsum euaderet* 'I was afraid where the mildness of my lord should end'. But already Donatus was in doubt as to its meaning: '*semper uerebar' an 'semper lenitas'?* which would correspond to a possible Greek idiom like ἡ ἀεὶ ἠπιότης. However, Brenous gives no textual correspondence of Latin and Greek texts, so his hypothesis remains very weak. Adjectives are used as adverbs for the same reasons, but it is unlikely that this construction, which could develop independently in Latin, as in Liv. 27,12,15: *dum alii trepidi cedunt, alii segniter subeunt* 'while the one part in disorder was yielding ground, and the other was slow in coming up', is a Graecism.

3. Hellenism and the vulgar language

3.1 General considerations

The limits of Hellenism have been challenged by two other parameters, archaism and Vulgar Latin. The strength of both these parameters would pale before the time-depth of Greek influence in Southern Italy and Rome, and on the vulgar language, for example the language of C. Eunus.[58] A good survey of this situation is given by Brenous (1895: 45–81), who concludes:

58. See Calboli (1999: 342).

> Nous ne connaissons que le latin de l'époque historique et seulement celui des textes écrits ou gravés. Son développement littéraire n'a jamais été complètement soustrait à l'influence de la langue grecque. (Brenous 1895: 78)

This must be augmented with recent studies by Dubuisson, a specialist in Graecisms in Latin, and Boyancé. Dubuisson (1981: 27) observes that modern interest in Roman Graecism goes beyond the literary language:

> On apprécie mieux aujourd'hui, en particulier, l'étendue et la profondeur du bilinguisme romaine : loin d'être, comme on l'avait souvant cru, réservé à une élite, il atteint toutes les classes sociales, plèbe compris ; loin d'être une marque d'affectation ou de snobisme, l'emploi du grec est, dans nombre de cas, celui d'une véritable langue maternelle … L'hellénisme romain, bien antérieur aux contacts avec la Grèce proprement dite, est déjà vivant au début du IIIe siècle.

Furthermore, cultivated people in Rome, such as Cicero and Caesar, also used Greek, which was sometimes different from the literary language. Rose (1921), and more recently Boyancé (1956: 123f.), note that Cicero's Greek in the epistles is Hellenistic rather than Classical, with many strange words. Dubuisson (1980: 887f.) shows that Caesar's last words to Brutus, καὶ σύ, τέκνον (if we accept Suetonius's report, *Caes.* 82), were spoken Greek, because the vocative in the spoken Hellenistic language was τέκνον, not the regular form τέκνε. So Cicero and Caesar, two champions of purity in language, employed a half literary, half colloquial Greek. A few syntactic peculiarities have been noted in Cicero's Greek by Rose (1921: 115f.), though this concerns the influence of Latin on Greek rather than the opposite. The subject seems so vast that it cannot be mastered by a single scholar. For that reason, I must narrow my focus and if possible choose a topic where both parameters, Graecism and vulgarism, may be considered together.

To answer the question, or at least to have a clearer framework with a more comprehensive collection of data to ask it properly, we must also consider the *Archivium Sulpiciorum*, the wax tablets found at Pompeii and recently published in a very good edition by Camodeca (1999).[59] I refer to some

59. For previously discovered Pompeian tablets, see Zangemeister (1898).

contributions by Wolf, Camodeca, and myself.[60] Camodeca in his summary of the language employed in these tablets distinguishes between the *scriptura exterior*, done by a professional writer, and the *scriptura interior*, done either by a person liable for the transaction or by a slave as a representative "because the master could not write" (*Nardus P. Anni Seleuci seruus scripsi coram et iussu / Sel*[*eu*]*ci domini mei,* [*q*]*uod is negaret se litteras / scire* 'I, Nardus, slave of P. Annius Seleucius, have written (this document) in the presence and by the order of my lord because he said that he could not write' [*TP Sulp.* 46, Tab. III,5 *graphio, scriptura exterior*] [Camodeca 1999: 125, see also *TP Sulp.* 78 and 98]): "Of the 21 writers", Camodeca (1999: 40) writes,

> with the *scriptura interior* of the act on pages 2–3 we possess a demonstration of their ability to write ...; in the end only two of them (which is still 10 %) can write only in 'Vulgar Latin': Diognetus, servant of C. Novius Cypaerus (*TP Sulp.* 45), and C. Novius Eunus, the freedman of the latter (*TP Sulp.* 51; 52; 67; 68); all the others express themselves rather correctly with rare local influences (from Oscan and occasionally from Greek). [trans. P.B. & P.C.]

We thus find that the social distinction between master and slave does not mean that the master can use good Latin and the slave cannot, because sometimes the slave mastered Latin better that his master. This does not mean that knowledge of Latin was not important for Roman society, but that on the contrary, it was very important, at least for such documents; it was work to be done and, as work, it was sometimes demanded of the slaves. As for the connection between Greek and Vulgar Latin, the language of one of the two people who did not master Latin, C. Novius Eunus, harbors an expression which seems Greek in every respect (32).

(32) a. *TP Sulp.* 51 Tab. II3 (*graphio, script. interior*) (Camodeca 1999: 136): *que ominia / possita habeo penes*[61] *me in horreis Bassianis / puplicis Putolanorum que*

60. Wolf and Crook (1989), Wolf (1993), Flobert (1995), Calboli (1999, 2006), Camodeca (1999).

61. I am not sure whether the reading is *penes* (my interpretation), or *penus,* as accepted by Wolf and Crook (1989: 26), Adams (1990: 246), and Camodeca (1999: 138). Adams (1990: 246) explains *penus* as analogy with *tenus* and quotes another case of *penus* in *CIL* III 6441. A third epigraphic example of *penus* (*LEX colleg. aq.* [*CIL* VI 10298]

ob omini / ui periculo meo est [[*dico*]] *fateor.*[62] */ Actum Putolis* 'all these wares I have in my possession in public Bassian stores of Pozzuoli. These wares are free from every danger as I myself confirm on my own responsibility. Done in Pozzuoli'

b. *TP Sulp.* 52 Tab. II3 (*graphio, script. interior*) (Camodeca 1999: 139): *que ominia ab omini / ui priculo meo est fator. (S) Actum Putolis*

In Calboli (1999: 342), I explained the syntagm *omina … est* as a Graecism resulting from the continuous commercial contact of Eunus with Greek traders. Perhaps C. Eunus was ignorant of Latin grammar but knew the prestigious position of Greek, imitated by Latin authors and poets, and had no reason to avoid a construction his Greek customers used. Petronius 71,10: *faciatur, si tibi uidetur, et triclinia* provides a parallel from a commercial environment. This example is rejected by Hofmann & Szantyr (1972: 431),[63] but they give others from Late Latin authors, such as Comm. *instr.* 1,34,18: *aurea … ueniet tibi saecla* 'the golden age will come to you', 2,1,15: *ut mysteria … omnia … compleatur* 'to accomplish all the mysteries', and Chiron. 399: *ea uitia difficiliter uincitur* 'these faults it is difficult to correct'.[64] More examples are given by Baehrens (1912: 483–496), who tried to demonstrate that this construction was native to Latin, because Latin had the same possi-

4) has been added by Alessandra Peri *ThLL.* X,1, 1053,39. However, Peri is in doubt: "PENUS (*forma vulgaris an scribarum neglegentiae tribuenda ?*)". In all three cases, the cursive writing of *u* (u) is very similar to *e* (e) – a cursive model must be postulated for both epigraphic examples, so these are three cursive scripts. In *TP Sulp.* 51 Tab. II3, the reading is unclear and it cannot be forgotten that *penus* had another meaning beside 'in the possession of', namely, 'store or provision of food', and these meanings could be confused; but at any rate misinterpretation could be avoided (see Calboli 2005a). Therefore, I prefer to read *penes* in *TP Sulp.* 51 Tab. II3. If this is true, Eunus's language must not be regarded as Vulgar Latin and *omina* (*omnia*) *est* should be considered a Greek rather than a vulgar construction.

62. In the correct version (*scriptura exterior*) of (32a) (*TP Sulp.* 51 Tab. II3) written by a professional *scriba*, we read: Tab. III5: *quae omnia reposita habeo penes me in horreis / Bassianis publicis Pu*[*teo*]*lanorum quae ab omni ui / periculo meo esse fat*[*e*]*or. Act. Puteolis.* In (32b) (*TP Sulp.* 52 Tab. II3), the *scriptura exterior* is lost.
63. For a discussion of this example (with references), see Calboli (1962: 14–16).
64. The same reading occurs in the second manuscript of the *Mulomedicina Chironis*, the *Codex of Basel*, Öffentliche Universität Bibliothek D.III 34.

bility of combining a neuter plural with a singular verb as Greek. A possible epigraphic example appears in the *Année Épigraphique* (1987, 974 [Aegyptus 161]: *principia a nouo aed*[*ifi*]*catum est*) (see Galdi 2004: 139).

However, the claim that Vulgar Latin does not exclude Greek influence must be substantiated by more consistent data, though it would be impossible to find as much detail as is available in literary Latin. Meillet (1928: 87–94) gives considerable attention to Greek loanwords outside of literary language. He demonstrates, on the basis of names of people, objects, products, and fruits, such as *Achīuī* (from *Akhaiwoi*), *oliua* (from *elaiwa*), *mācina* (then written *māchina*), *mācinor* (from *mākhanā*), *ampulla* (from *ampora*, an adaptation of Greek *amphoreús*) that some loanwords were introduced in Latin before the Greek ϝ disappeared, that is, in a distant period,[65] and that these loanwords arrived from Achean and Dorian Western Greek. This matter has been excellently treated by Biville (1990), who showed that not only the Dorian but also the Ionian dialects were present in the Greek colonization of Italy (Biville 1990: 24–26); and that no Greek *koiné* existed before the Punic wars, and after this date, a *koiné* probably arose and was perhaps dominated by the Dorian dialect ("Nous pouvons penser que cette koinè – si koinè il y a eu – était fondamentalement dorienne, puisque dans les deux grands centres, Tarente et Syracuse, se parlaient des dialectes doriens" [Biville 1990: 28]). The earliest transmission of loanwords into the popular language was in part through Etruscan ("Ayant passé par la langue populaire, en partie par l'étrusque, les premiers emprunts du latin au grec ont été exposés à se déformer" [Meillet 1928: 93]). Of course knowledge of Greek in Rome was not the same for all people: Cicero mastered Attic literature and language, but it is impossible to say the same for all Romans (see Biville 1986, 1990: 30). Two very useful works on this topic are now available, Kaimio (1979) and

65. See also Biville (1990: 52, 85–87). On *oliva*, she writes: "la présence ancienne de ce digamma est attestée par myc. *e-ra-wa* = ἐλαί(ϝ)α, *e-ra-wo* = ἔλαι(ϝ)ον, et par le chypr. ἔλαιϝον. On admet généralement que les termes latins ont été empruntés 'à date très ancienne' à un parler dorien de Sicile ou de Grande-Grèce ; mais l'emprunt peut être encore plus ancien : il a pu parvenir en Italie à la faveur des relations commerciales qui s'étaient établies entre l'est et l'ouest du bassin de la Méditerranée, et il remonte probablement à l'époque mycénienne" (Biville 1990: 86). The recent literature on these terms is given by Biville, who discusses these loanwords in depth.

Adams (2003). Kaimio (1979: 299–302) observes that nonliterary loanwords have been introduced into Latin in two fields, navigation and trade. Both involve C. Novius Eunus. Kaimio, following Marouzeau, adds a third field, entertainment, notably theater. This opens a new field of inquiry with respect to Plautus and Terence.

Adams acknowledges the issue of the relationship between Greek and Vulgar Latin, and interference between them (Adams 2003: 765). He begins with *Glossary of L. Lond.* II481, a fourth-century Latin–Greek glossary, and comes to the conclusion that "it implies the existence of non-élite Greek learners of sub-literary Latin who were not accomplished in writing or reading Latin script" (Adams 2003: 43).

Adams next takes up the issue of Latin being written in the Greek script by those who were only partially literate in the Latin script (Adams 2003: 53). In an *epistula*, a letter written in Greek letters (*CPL* 193), a slave trader, Aeschines Flavianus Milesius, says that a female slave was sold to the soldier T. Memmius Montanus. One of the *epistulae* by and to Caecilius Iucundus is in Greek letters (*CIL* IV,3340, xxxii). Adams investigates the former's language in depth and concludes that he was a Greek, illitterate in Latin who used a subliterary variety of Latin. He most likely had in front of him a written text compiled from formulas, and his *epistula* was "put together through a mixture of dictation and copying of an exemplar" (Adams 2003: 60) but was full of errors attesting to the combination of Greek and vulgar or spoken Latin, "particularly that of lower social classes" (Adams 2003: 58). I do not wish to enter the social arena, having seen that sometimes slaves were more literate than their masters, but it demonstrates the low level of this Latin and confirms the connection between Greek and colloquial or Vulgar Latin. Later, Adams (2003: 435) quotes (33) and, following Douglas, stresses that another connection between Greek and colloquial Latin was the use of Latin by Greek-speakers who continued to speak Latin ("a colloquial substandard Latin", Adams 2003: 437) with Greek interference.

(33) Cic. *Brut.* 258: *aetatis illius ista fuit laus tamquam innocentiae sic Latine loquendi – nec omnium tamen, nam illorum aequales Caecilium et Pacuuium male locutos uidemus –, sed omnes tum fere, qui nec extra urbem hanc uixerant neque eos aliqua barbaries domestica infuscauerat, recte loquebantur*

> ‘pure Latinity, not less than uprightness of character, was the mark of their time, though not quite universal, since we note that their contemporaries Caecilius and Pacuvius did not use a pure idiom; still, pratically every one, unless his life was passed outside Rome, or some crudeness of home environment had tainted his speech, in those days spoke well and correctly’ (trans. Hubbell)

Douglas (1966: 189) suggests that *barbaries domestica* could be an allusion to the influence of foreign slaves in the education of Roman children, and Adams (2003: 435) agrees. I think that this allusion is possible for the time of the Roman Republic, the time of C. Laelius and P. Scipio, of Caecilius and Pacuvius. Polybius (31,24,7) knew that a great number of Greek teachers were active in Rome (see Kaimio 1979: 196). However, it is strange for Cicero to call Greek domestic education *barbaries domestica*, and the tradition of the Roman school presented by Messalla in Tacitus’s *Dialogus de oratoribus* (28,4–29,2)[66] was that education by Greek slaves began after the Archaic period; it does not matter what the actual situation was,[67] but what entered the Roman tradition is expressed by Cicero too: that good Latin was typical of the olden days (*aetatis illius ista fuit laus tamquam innocentiae, sic Latine loquendi*). However, many *inquinate loquentes* poured into Rome from anywhere (*confluxerunt enim et Athenas et in hanc urbem multi inquinate loquentes ex diversis locis* ‘for as to Athens, so to our city, there has been an influx of many impure speakers coming from different places’). From Cicero’s words, it seems likely, therefore, that even some slaves were *inquinate loquentes*, a condition from which only Greek slaves could be excluded.

In support of his interpretation, Adams (2003: 435) adds a passage from Quintilian (*inst.* 1,1,3–5) “on the potentially bad influence of the speech of slaves on children” and thinks that these slaves were “presumably Greeks”. This is possible, but I would stress caution, because Quintilian (*inst.* 1,1,4)

66. On this passage, see Gudeman (1914: 405-412) and Güngerich (1980: 122–126).
67. Kaimio (1979: 196) writes that “the end of the century [the second century BCE] saw the establishing of Roman educational system with its three stages, elementary education by the γραμματιστής, secondary education by the grammaticus, and higher education by the rhetorician”. It is likely that this phase was preceded by home schooling.

says only: *ante omnia ne sit uitiosus sermo nutricibus: quas si fieri posset, sapientes Chrysippus optauit* 'first of all, make sure the nurses speak properly. Chrysippus wished them, had it been possible, to be philosophers'.[68] To prove that the *sermo uitiosus* was Greek is not easy – but it is unnecessary, since Adams (2003: 435f.) himself rightly quotes Quintilian (*inst.* 1,1,12–14) clearly saying the children must speak not only Greek but also Latin to avoid interference from their first language (Greek: *a sermone Graeco puerum incipere malo* 'I prefer a boy to begin by speaking Greek') in their second (Latin: *non longe itaque Latina subsequi debent et cito pariter ire* 'so Latin ought to follow not far behind, and soon proceed side by side with Greek' [trans. Russell]). However, Adams believes that the interferences Quintilian is speaking of are phonetic, while Cousin (Quintilian I, 154) rejects Ernesti's (1797: 170) opinion that mistakes of this type concern phonetics ("hinc enim accidunt et oris plurima vitia in peregrinum sonum corrupti, et sermonis"). Cousin believes that they are syntactic mistakes ("il s'agit ici des *sermonis uitia* [which actually were not excluded by Ernesti]: il faut plutôt songer à des rémanences inconscientes de constructions syntaxiques, comme l'emploi du génitif en latin après une préposition, etc." [Cousin 1975: 154]). In my opinion, both kinds of mistake could have been meant by Quintilian.

Another example of a Greek writer influenced by Latin is the rhetor Claudius Aelianus, who lived in Rome after 193 CE.[69] That his Greek was sometimes affected by Latin was demonstrated by Schmid (1893: 64f.) in the third volume of his work on "Atticismus"[70]: (a) omission of article probably to be attributed to Latin influence: Ael. *nat. an.* 7,23: φοβηθέντες ὀργὴν λέοντος ἰσχυρὰν (Herscher 185,26), *var. hist.* 12,1: διά τε ἤθους ἀφέλειαν καὶ τοῦ τρόπου τὸ αἰδῆμον (Herscher 118,21), this example is annotated by Schmid (1893: 64) as follows: "im ersten Teil wäre nach Kühner II² S. 524 wenigstens ein Artikel, sei es beim Nominativ oder beim Genitiv zu erwarten gewesen", (b) Schmid (1893: 66): ὁ αὐτός corresponding to Latin *idem*:

68. On this Stoic precept, see Cousin (1975–1980), Quintilian, *Institution Oratoire* I, 154.
69. For other (probable) Latinisms in late Greek writers, see Schmid (1897: 26).
70. I am grateful to Augusto Guida for references to Aelianus and some other information about later Greek writers. Guida (1990: 72ff.) shows that an anonymous Greek Panegyric of the Emperor Julian was influenced by Claudius Mamertinus's Latin Panegyric, with respect to the style and the rhetorical use of figures.

var. hist. 1,15, 4,17, 4,20, 8,18, 9,18), (c) Schmid (1893): 94: ἀλλὰ καί = *sed etiam* by Cicero, *nat. an.* 5,2 (Herscher 108,29), 5,42 (Herscher 129,21), *var. hist.* 12,42, 13,32, (d): Schmid (1893: 287): determination of time expressed in Latin fashion: *nat. an.* 134,28 (Herscher): πρὸ τριάκοντά που ἡμερῶν = *triginta diebus ante*, (e): Schmid (1893: 314): change in word order by anticipation of *cola* in Latin fashion, (f): Schmid (1893: 318): ἢ πῶς ἄν = [?] Lat. *quid enim?*). Wilson (1997: 14f.) identifies some Latinisms in Aelian's Greek, such as τοὺς αὐτούς = *et eosdem* (*var. hist.* 12,1, [Dilts 126,15]) or *var. hist.* 2,42: σὺν τῇ ἀνωτάτω σπουδῇ (instead of πάσῃ σπουδῇ), probably because Aelian had *summo studio* in mind.[71]

Clear instances of phonetic interference are found by Adams (2003: 43) in a fourth-century Greek–Latin glossary (P.Lond. II. 481), which also show the effect of colloquial substandard Latin, as is established by Kramer (1983: 84–87): "The Latin which the author knew was manifestly that of colloquial speech rather than a literary variety of the language" (quoted by Adams 2003: 42).[72] The place where Greek and colloquial Latin share space is the Egyptian military community attested in receipt papyri in Latin, which was the usual language for the army and juridical activity. In the Roman army, the convention of speaking Latin was preserved even in Byzantine times, but the Latin employed in Egyptian papyri was of a low level, with frequent deviations from "correct" Latin, as in *ChLA* 3,204: *scripsi nonarum Octobrium ad Puluinos, ad statione liburnes Fides, interueniente Minucium Plotianum triarchum et Apuleium Nepotem, scriba* 'I wrote 7 October to Pulvinum [an unidentified place], at the wharf where the brigantine "Fides" was moored, while the captain, Minucius Plotianus, and the public scribe Apuleius Nepos were present'. Adams (2003: 614) concludes that "the writers were native speakers of Greek who had acquired Latin first as a spoken language". This is another example of Greek and colloquial Latin combined, and Adams substantiates the hypothesis that Graecism involves not only liter-

71. See also Wilson (1996: 23). In both passages (1996: 23 and 1997: 14), Wilson points out that the superlative ἀνδρειότατα seems to be a calque of Latin *fortissime*, except in four passages where it may be an imitation of Plato (*var. hist.* 4,19, 6,7, 9,1, 12,1).

72. As is evident from the lemmata which concern everyday life, for example: πασαρες = στρ[ουθοι], λουνα = σεληνη, στηλαί = αστερες, βεντος = ανεμος, ουα πασσα = σταφ[ισ], βιλα ποια εστιν = κωμη, κιβιτας ποια εστι = πό[λισ], see Kramer (1983).

ary Latin at a high level of this language, but also colloquial and even Vulgar Latin.

In conclusion, there are two parameters for judging the phenomenon of Graecism. Graecism is only half the contact between Greek and Latin, because we are looking only at the influence of Greek on Latin. Influence in the other direction was important and has been well investigated by Rochette (1997).[73] The two parameters are the grammatical mechanisms involved and the inclination of the authors. As for the first, it appears that every syntactic Graecism consisted of expanding the use of a native Latin construction. This agrees with Kaimio's (1979: 292) conclusion that in general, "Romans did not accept word-for-word translations in literature" but elaborated the Greek texts. Regarding author inclination, two extremes are represented: one by the author of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* and the other by Ammianus Marcellinus: the former criticizes the Greeks and changes the Greek name of a rule if possible, such as the names of the figures (Quintilian reverted to the Greek names), though he uses Greek doctrine and does not avoid Graecisms. His is not the only anti-Hellenic voice, and this negative attitude toward Greek culture is pointed out by Kaimio.[74] Conversely, Ammianus asserts that he is Greek and proud of it.

(34) a. (i) *Rhet. Her.* 1,1,1: *quas ob res illa, quae Graeci scriptores inanis adrogantiae causa sibi adsumpserunt, relinquimus. Nam illi, ne parum multa scisse uiderentur, ea conquisierunt, quae nihil adtinebant, ut ars difficilior cognitu putaretur*[75]
'this is why I have omitted to treat those topics which, for the sake of futile self-assertion, Greek writers have adopted. For they, from fear of appearing to know too little, have gone in quest of notions irrelevant to the art, in order that the art might seem more difficult to understand' (trans. Caplan)

73. See Löfstedt (1959: 119).
74. Cf. Kaimio (1979: 46 and passim; see Index 363). However, Kaimio disregards this attitude in the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*.
75. See my Commentary (Calboli 1993: 208).

(ii) *Rhet. Her.* 3,23,38: *scio plerosque Graecos, qui de memoria scripserunt, fecisse, ut multorum uerborum imagines conscriberent … Quorum rationem aliquot de causis improbamus*
'I know that most of the Greeks who have written on the memory have taken the course of listing images that correspond to a great many words. I disapprove of their method on several grounds' (trans. Caplan)

(iii) Rhet. Her. 4,31,42–33,45: *pronominatio* [= ἀντονομασία] *est, quae* … *Denominatio* [= μετωνυμία] *est, quae* … *Circumitio* [= περίφρασις] *est oratio* … *Transgressio* [= ὑπερβατόν] *est, quae… Superlatio* [= ὑπερβολή] *est oratio… Intellectio* [= συνεκδοχή] *est, cum* … *Abusio* [= κατάχρησις] *est, quae* …[76]

b. (i) Amm. 31,16,9: *haec ut miles quondam et Graecus, a principatu Caesaris Neruae exorsus, ad usque Valentis interitum, pro uirium explicaui mensura*
'these events, from the principate of the emperor Nerva to the death of Valens, I, a former soldier and a Greek, have set forth to the measure of my ability' (trans. Rolfe)[77]

(ii) Amm. 15,9,2: *sed postea Timagenes, et diligentia Graecus et lingua*
'but later Timagenes, a true Greek in accuracy as well as language'

These are the two extremes as seen by the authors. Our two extremes are the use of Graecism and the correction of Graecism. The latter appears in the work of Jerome, who in the Vulgate suppressed the free use of *ille* in the *Vetus Latina*. In evaluating Graecisms, we must move between these and other extremes which a more detailed analysis will uncover.

The importance of this question was recognized by Coseriu (1996). He collected data where the Greek seems to have influenced some Vulgar Latin

76. My Commentary (Calboli 1993: 378–391).
77. On this σφραγίς see Calboli (1983), where it is shown that Ammianus was proud of being Greek. On the use of Greek at this time, see also Matthews (1989: 466–468).

constructions, building on Norden's (1909: 610) opinion that through the Christian texts Greek played a great role in the development of Vulgar Latin during the first three centuries of the Christian age.[78] Coseriu agrees with Norden: "La conviction à laquelle je suis bientôt arrivé, c'est que cette contribution [du grec au développement du latin vulgaire] a été essentielle" (Coseriu 1996: 27). He shows some syntactic correspondences between Latin, Greek, and Romance (Coseriu 1996: 31f.) and explains that in some cases, Greek provided the basis for the origin or development of Vulgar Latin,[79] substantiating his arguments with a small number of examples, the clearest being the passage from *intellego* to *comprehendo* via Greek συλλαμβάνω. Coseriu touches on a very important point, but he limits the number of examples to avoid the suspicion that he gives too much weight to Graecism in the genesis of Vulgar Latin. His conclusion is that Graecism did not act outside the resources of Latin itself and was never as extraneous to Latin as Arabic loanwords are to Persian.

> Quel est le poids de l'influence grecque sur le latin vulgaire d'après ce qu'on peut entrevoir sur la base des faits réunis et des recherches réalisées jusqu'au présent ? Sans doute, cette influence se présente comme tout à fait remarquable. Cependant, même si tous les faits réunis jusqu'au présent s'avéraient être des hellénismes, le fond et la structure essentielle des langues romanes serait toujours du latin, puisque dans chaque cas, il s'agit de faits intégrés dans le système latin et non pas des faits étrangers à ce système (comme, par exemple, dans le cas de beaucoup d'arabismes du persan moderne). (Coseriu 1996 : 36)

It seems to me that in these words the idea arises of partial Graecism, something which expanded in Latin because it was already partly or deeply connected with Latin.

The relation between Graecism and Vulgar Latin is a very important question, addressed by Coseriu (1996). Coseriu (1996: 31) gives a table (see Table 2) of correspondence between Latin, Greek, and Romance, from which it

78. This phenomenon may be related to the elevation of *sermo humilis*, typical of Christian culture and studied in depth by Auerbach (1960: 33–67).

79. Coseriu (1996: 34) points out that he presents the problem, not a clear solution.

Table 2. Correspondence of syntactic constructions between Latin, Greek, and Romance (Coseriu 1996: 31)

Kind of clause	Latin	Greek	Romance
Declarative clauses after *verba dicendi*	accusative + infinitive	accusative + infinitive or ὅτι + indicative	*quia* (*quod*) + indicative
Indirect questions	subjunctive	indicative	indicative
Final clauses	subjunctive gerundive gerund, etc.	subjunctive or infinitive	subjunctive or infinitive
Consecutive clauses	subjunctive	indicative or infinitive	indicative or infinitive
Causal clauses	indicative or subjunctive	indicative	indicative

appears that many syntactic constructions employed in Romance languages correspond to Greek rather than to Latin.

Coseriu observes that the many Graecisms adapted into Italian and Rumanian force us to conclude that the influence of Greek on Vulgar Latin was fairly strong, though he prefers to be prudent: "si Schulze, Wackernagel ou Debrunner signalent chacun quelques grécismes du latin vulgaire et des langues romanes, on accepte leurs interprétation sans murmurer, mais, si quelqu'un présente des dizaines ou des centaines de faits du même type, on devient par principe prudent" (Coseriu 1996: 34).

He concludes that we must investigate the influence of Greek on Vulgar Latin – as is his project;[80] that this influence should be consistent; but that it remains within Latin, because the Romance languages are a product of Latin, not of Greek:

80. For early work on this subject, cf. Pfister (1912) and Sturtevant (1925).

> en dépit du point énorme de l'influence grecque, les langues romanes sont toujours du latin; du latin grécisé, ou même, si l'on veut, «grécoïde», mais non pas du grec, ni même du «gréco-latin» (Coseriu 1996: 36).

3.2 Predicate noun attracted by the reference noun of the main clause

(35) Hor. *ars* 372–373: *mediocribus esse poetis / non homines, non di, non concessere columnae*
'that poets should ever be "average" is not a concession allowed by man, gods, or the booksellers'

Brink explains this construction as an extension of *licet* and the infinitive (Hor. *serm.* 1,1,19: *licet esse beatis*) and suggests that the extension could be influenced by Greek: "Horace and other Augustan poets extend this idiom further [as in *ars* 372], perhaps under Greek influence" (Brink 1971: 375). Brenous (1895: 191) considers this syntagm a Graecism, and Hofmann & Szantyr (1972: 350) regard the extension of this *licet* construction to other verbs as a Graecism, as in Lucr. 5,174: *quidue mali fuerat nobis non esse creatis* 'or what ill had it been to us never to have been made' (ed. Bailey), Ov. *met.* 8,554–555: *nec fortibus illic / profuit armentis nec equis uelocibus esse* '(and in that current) neither strength availed the ox nor speed the horse'. This question is investigated in detail by Löfstedt (1956: 107f.), who is uncertain but, considering the wide use of this idiom in Greek, is inclined to believe that it is a Graecism. Some Greek examples are given in (36).

(36) a. Xen. *Anab.* 2,1,2: ἔδοξεν οὖν αὐτοῖς συσκευασαμένοις ἃ εἶχον καὶ ἐξοπισαμένοις προϊέναι
'they resolved to pack up what they had, arm themselves, and push forward'

b. Xen. *Hipparch.* 7,1: παντὶ προσήκει ἄρχοντι φρονίμῳ εἶναι
'it is fitting for every governor to be prudent'

Cf. Kühner & Gerth (1955: 25, 59f.). Löfstedt's prudent attitude is not very different from our assessment of many other half-Hellenisms of the Augustan period:

> Ist unter solchen Umständen mit einem Einfluss des reicher entwickelten griech. Sprachgebrauchs auf die Verbreitung der Attraktion in der lat. Kunstsprache etwa der augusteischen Zeit zu rechnen …? Über jeden einzelnen Fall lässt sich wohl nichts Bestimmtes sagen, aber ein gewisser allgemeiner Einfluss des Griech. auf Dichter wie Ovid oder Horaz in diesem Punkt ist mir in der Tat höchst wahrscheinlich. (Löfstedt 1956: 107f.)

Rosén (1999: 27f.) raises the question of the combined influence of both Greek poetry and Greek rhetoric. Considering two examples from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* where the substantive is divided from its attribute because the Latin poet imitated a Greek sequence without understanding the reason for the alien word order (I cite the entire passage, not just the three lines quoted by Rosén, because the same phenomenon happens in every line).

(37) Ov. *met.* 1,94–100: *nondum caesa* ***suis,*** *peregrinum ut uiseret orbem / **montibus** in liquidas pinus descenderat undas, / nullaque mortales praeter sua litora norant. / nondum **praecipites** cingebant oppida **fossae**, / non tubae **directi**, non **aeris** cornua **flexi**, / non galeae, non ensis erat: sine militis usu / mollia **securae** peragebant otia **gentes***
'not yet had the pine-tree, felled on its native mountains, descended thence into the watery plain to visit other lands; men knew no shores except their own. Not yet were cities begirt with steep moats; there were no trumpets of straight, no horns of curving brass, no swords or helmets. There was not need at all of armed men, for nations, secure from war's alarms, passed the years in gentle ease' (trans. Miller)

Rosén acknowledges an awkward word order induced by "servile imitation" of a Greek archetype, which could be found misinterpreted in Homer. Why was Homer's word order misinterpreted? Rosén (1999: 27) quotes Chantraine's (1958–1963: 12–17, 20f.) *Grammaire homérique*, and Chantraine, for his part, notes the widespread use of apposition and attribute in Homer as an archaism, where formulas consisting of noun and apposition or attribute, sometimes participle, are a peculiarity of epic diction conditioned by meter, as in Hom. *Il.* 8,97: Ὣ̄ς ἔ̆φᾰτ', οὐ̄δ' ἐ̆σᾰ́κοῡσĕ πŏλῡ́τλᾱς / δῖ̄ŏς Ὀ̆δῡσσεῡ́ς 'so spake he, but the much-enduring goodly Odysseus did not hear him'. This line comprises a dactylic tetrameter + an adonius (δῖ̄ŏς Ὀ̆δῡσσεῡ́ς), reveal-

ing the connection of the meter with the formula. I think that Rosén is right in asserting that Augustan poets did not understand the deeper reasons for Homeric formulas. "The true structure of Homeric appositional word order must have been too subtle a matter even for minds that provided such happy solutions as *cum pulcris animis* 'with fine spirit' (Enn. *ann.* 550 V [563 Sk] for εὔθυμος". In my opinion this is true but, as for Augustan poets, we must consider another element, the rhetorical figure of ὑπερβατόν, which in the first Latin treatise explaining this figure or, better, this *tropos* is called *transgressio* (*Rhet. Her.* 4,32,44). It resembles a group of figures which concern the movement of words from their natural place, called as a group ἀλλοίωσις. This group of figures / *tropoi* has been studied in depth by Torzi (2000) (on hyperbaton, see Torzi 2000: 94–99, 185–275, 277–281). Perhaps the most impressive hyperbaton, with an incredible split of noun and appositive, occurs in Horace's Ode 4,6,1–26, where the appositive *Diue* of ***Diue**, quem proles Niobea magnae / uindicem linguae Tityosque raptor / sensit* (lines 1–3) 'lord, whose power was felt by Niobe's family when you punished her boastful tongue, and by the rapist Tityus' finds its corresponding noun 25 lines later: *doctor argutae fidicen Thaliae, / **Phoebe**, qui Xantho lavis amne crinis* (lines 25–26) 'Phoebus, ministrel-teacher of the clear-voiced Thalia, you who wash your hair in Xanthus' stream' (trans. Rudd). But this ode is directly connected with the *carmen saeculare*, which begins with *Phoebe siluarumque potens Diana,* and the noun *Phoebe* in *carm.* 4,6 has been placed in the ὀμφαλός, as is usual in the fourth book of the *carm.* (see Calboli 1985: 175). Horace also employed a cross hyperbaton with special freedom in Epistles 1,20 for a particular purpose: to say in a discrete way that he, before entering into familiarity with Maecenas and Augustus, had fought in Brutus's army against Octavian: Hor. *epist.* 1,20,23 (see Calboli 2004b: 250–256). We can therefore conclude that the Classical poets in these cases used the Greek *tropos* of hyperbaton, aware that it was originally Greek but had been assimilated as a figure / *tropos* of Roman rhetoric, without perceiving or even suspecting the difference from Homer. Such ignorance, however, may also be attributed to the Greek authors of the time, because hyperbaton is a Greek *tropos* (see Calboli 1993: 384–386, and in particular Torzi 2000: 186–206: the Alexandrian *technographoi* considered the hyperbaton a τρόπος, the Stoic a figure [σχῆμα]; Martin [1974: 265, 308f.]). On hyperbaton within Latin stylistics, see also Hofmann & Szantyr (1972: 689–694), and the Ital-

ian translation with "Aggiornamenti" by Traina et al. (2002: 280f., without reference to ancient rhetoric; the fundamental book by Torzi has been overlooked).

Let us consider some data concerning word order relating to clitics, as treated by Wanner (1987). The data come from the Latin letters of a Greek native speaker, Cl. Terentianus, a Roman soldier of the second century CE who lived in Egypt and wrote letters, some in Latin (five to his father, Cl. Tiberianus) and some in Greek (five to his father and one to his sister, Tasucharion). The Latin letters seem to be earlier than the Greek ones (see Calboli 1990: 23; Molinelli and Rizzi 1991: 45), because in letter 468,35ff. (P. Mich. VIII Youtie and Winter) Cl. Terentianus hopes to enter the legion (*et si deus uoluerit spero me frugaliter* [*u*]*iciturum et in cohortem* [*tra*]*nsferri* 'by the grace of God I hope to live frugally and pass into the legion') and in a Greek letter (P. Mich. VIII 476,33) he signs as a legionnaire: ἀπόδος Κλαυδίῳ Τιβεριανῷ παρὰ Κλαυδίου Τερεντιανοῦ υἱοῦ λεγιῶνος στρατιώτου 'deliver, please, to Cl. Tiberianus from his son Cl. Terentianus, soldier in the legion'. Regarding the interference of Greek and Latin, Molinelli and Rizzi consider the use and position of the personal pronoun and adjective in these letters, concluding (Molinelli and Rizzi 1991: 57f.) that both Greek and Latin placed the possessive after the noun, though Latin was more conservative and Greek more liberal. Where Latin used the personal adjective (*fauore tuo*), Greek used the genitive of the pronoun (ἡ θυγάτηρ σου 'your daughter'). As for the verb, Molinelli and Rizzi acknowledge the original postverbal position of the Greek personal pronoun and the change to this position of the corresponding Latin, but they think this was a parallel development, rapid in Latin, slow in Greek, rather than influence of Greek on Latin. The position of the subject pronoun also shows parallel evolution in the two languages toward an OV-type, Greek more consistently than Latin (but this impression could stem from the fact that we have more material in Greek than in Latin). As for the influence of Greek on Latin in Egypt, Molinelli and Rizzi (1991: 57) prefer Wanner's (1987: 448) concept of cross fertilization of the two languages. Wanner (1987: 447–449) considers the possibility of a Greek catalysis in the development of clitics but, following Zgusta (1980: 122, 139), sets a specific time span for such influence (between 14–180 CE) and concludes:

> Nothing indicates that Greek does indeed possess chronological priority over Latin in the development of a "modern" VB[81] clitic syntax or verb placement in first or second position. The only secure aspect is the parallelism in evolution when regarded rather superficially. The combination of the existing popular bilingualism of unknown density during the first two Imperial centuries and the (decreasing) Greek dependency of Christian cult expression make it possible to set up the hypothesis of Greek influence for any observed parallelism. But such a hypothesis has no weight unless supported by appropriately detailed case studies of documented parallel developments showing Greek chronological or typological precedence. This element is lacking for clitic evolution. (Wanner 1987: 448f.)

As for the relationship between Latin and Greek in the letters of Cl. Terentianus, it is clear that he more often used the Accusativus cum Infinitivo, which was typically Latin, and even in the Greek letters he used the Accusativus cum Infinitivo more than clauses introduced by ὅτι, ὡς, ὅπως, πῶς (fifteen occurrences of Accusativus cum Infinitivo versus eleven of ὅτι + indicative [but in P. Mich. VIII *epist.* 480,12: ὅτι introduces direct speech]). In the Koiné the opposite happened: clauses introduced by ὅτι, ὡς, ὅπως, πῶς largely or completely replaced the Accusativus cum Infinitivo (see Calboli 1966: 340; Kurzová 1968: 63–68, where a difficult psychological explanation is suggested; and Adrados 1992: 655). To explain this usage, I have suggested (Calboli 1990: 29–39) that Cl. Terentianus tried to retain his schoolboy knowledge of Latin lest he not get into the legion:[82] *epist.* 476: παρὰ Κλαυδίου Τερεντιανοῦ υἱοῦ λεγιῶνος στρατιώτου:

> Erinnern wir uns an die Tatsache, daß es der Ehrgeiz des jungen Terentian war, der bei der Flotte Classis Augusta Alexandrina diente, in die Kohorten der Legionäre aufgenommen zu werden, und daß die ersten fünf lateinisch verfaßten Briefe aus der Zeit datieren, als er noch nicht Legionär war, während er später, als er sein Ziel erreicht hat, nur noch griechisch schreibt. Die Beherrschung des Lateinischen war im römischen Legionsheer ein un-

81. What Wanner means by "VB" (verb-based clitic placement hypothesis) is explained in Wanner (1987: 196–200).
82. Thus it was for economic reasons, because soldiers in the legions received a higher salary than other soldiers, and Cl. Terentianus was in the Roman navy and wanted to transfer into the legion.

> umgängliches Erfordernis, und besonders wichtig in einer Umgebung, in der man griechisch sprach und für einen griechischsprachigen jungen Mann wie Terentian (hierin stimme ich Adams 1977: 3 und 85 zu). Dieser durfte sein Latein nicht verlernen, bevor er nicht sein Ziel erreicht hatte, nämlich ein λε(γιῶνος) στρα(τιώτης) zu werden, wie aus seiner Unterschrift hervorgeht, die unter einem Brief steht, der an den Vater adressiert und in griechischer Sprache abgefaßt ist (*epist.* 476,32). (Calboli 1990: 30)

This example provides a clear look at switching between Vulgar Latin and Greek, in the milieu of Egypt, where both languages were in real and continous contact, by Vulgar speakers, such as Cl. Terentianus and his family.

4. Graecisms collected by Hofmann & Szantyr

Below I list all of the Graecisms or supposed Graecisms mentioned by Hofmann & Szantyr (1972) that have not yet been considered.

p. 372: Apul. *apol.* 69: *medici cum obstetricibus consentiebant … nubtiis ualitudinem medicandum* 'the surgeons agreed with the midwives that she had to heal through the wedding'
Hofmann & Szantyr state that this object accusative of a gerundive in some Late Latin authors can be considered a Graecism. This is an early usage, occurring already in Plaut. *Trin.* 869: *mi aduenienti hac noctu agitandumst vigilias* 'by coming this night I must be watchful'. In Calboli (1962: 20–26) I show that the object accusative *uigilias* depends not on an impersonal verbal form, but a nominal form like Plaut. *Amph.* 519: *quid tibi hanc curatiost rem* 'what have you to do with this matter'). I still hold to this explanation; see now Risch (1984: 111), who suggests that Plaut. *Trin.* 869 is soldier language, especially pp. 186–188, where Risch suggests that the corresponding Greek construction could have influenced the Latin: "Außerdem muß mit griechischem Einfluß gerechnet werden, wo die 'unpersönliche' Konstruktion beim Verbaladjektiv auf -τέος sehr verbreitet ist, z. B. Plat. *Cri.* 51b: οὐδὲ λειπτέον τὴν τάξιν 'man darf seinen Posten nicht verlassen" ').

p. 385: Future participle preceded by *quasi* is considered a Graecism by Hofmann & Szantyr, but it occurs sometimes in Seneca, as shown by West-

man (1961: 189–193): Sen. *epist.* 24,15: *quicquid fieri potest quasi futurum cogitemus* 'let us think of everything that can happen as something which will happen'; *dial.* 6,22,6: *in cubiculum se quasi gustaturus contulit* 'he retired to his bedchamber, giving out that he would have lunch there'. Graecism therefore seems unlikely in this case.

p. 387: The construction with present participle, such as Sall. *Iug.* 84,3: *neque plebi militia nolenti putabatur* 'it was thought that the common people were disinclined to military service', though already employed by Plaut. *Men.* 922: *occidis fabulans* 'you are killing me with your talk', is considered a Graecism by Kroll (1927: 292), who claims that this Graecism actually began with Sallust, as in *Iug.* 103,7: *Sulla omnia pollicito* = πάντα ὑποσχομένου 'after Sulla had promised to do all'. This use of a present participle is considered a substitution for the Greek perfect or aorist participle, as in Liv. 27,43,3: *eum primo incertis implicantes responsis, ut metus tormentorum admotus fateri uera coegit, edocuerunt* 'at first they tried to confuse him by vague answers, but when the fear of torture was brought to bear and compelled them to admit the truth, they informed him'; Gell. 15,6,3: (*uersus quos Cicero in linguam Latinam uertit*, De gloria 2 fr.1Orelli[2]) *hic situs est uitae iampridem lumina* ***linquens*** */ qui quondam Hectoreo perculsus concidit ense. / fabitur haec aliquis, mea semper gloria uiuet* 'here lies a man of life's light long bereft, who slain by Hector's sword fell long ago. This one shall say; my glory ne'er shall die' (trans. Rolfe) compared with Hom. *Il.* 7,89–91: 'ἀνδρὸς μὲν τόδε σῆμα πάλαι **κατατεθνηῶτος**, / ὅν ποτ' ἀριστεύοντα κατέκτανε φαίδιμος Ἕκτωρ.' / ὥς ποτέ τις ἐρέει· τὸ δ' ἐμὸν κλέος οὔ ποτ' ὀλεῖται 'this is a barrow of a man that died in olden days, whom on a time the glorious Hector in the midst of his prowess slew. So shall some man say, and my glory shall never die'; see also Galdi (2004: 182f. *Année Épigraphique* 1961, 197): *Fl. Lucianus p*(*rae*)*p*(*ositus*) *ciuis Filipoplis Thacensiane. trib. mil., militante inter scutarios d. n. Constanti* 'Fl. Lucianus, prefect of the Thracian city of Philippopoli, military tribune, serving in the troops armed with long shield of our lord Constantius'.

p. 389: Present participle instead of a finite verb: Hil. *hymn.* 1,1: *ante saecula qui manens* 'before the centuries you are waiting for'.

p. 392: Perfect passive participle with future meaning: *inuictus* 'invincible'.

p. 395: *maneo* instead of *sum*, for example, Priap. 68,29: *quae sic casta manes, ut*, etc.

p. 410: Parallel only with a Greek expression where a postposition of a proper name occurs: for example, Plaut. *Amph.* 1077: *tua Bromia ancilla* ~ Call. *frg*. 260,5: ἐμῷ … Αἰγέϊ πατρί.

p. 411: Hor. *carm.* 4,1,6: *circa lustra decem* 'nearly fifty years' is considered an uneasy attempt to translate the Greek article: τὸν ἐγγὺς ἐτῶν.

p. 412: Translation from Thucydides is recognized in Nep. *Them.* 9,2: *Themistocles ueni ad te* (the subject has been added to the 1st and 2nd person sg. of the verb as a kind of predicate) ~ Thuc. 1,137,4: Θεμιστοκλῆς ἥκω παρὰ σέ 'I, Themistocles, have come to you' like Liv. 30,30,29: *Hannibal peto pacem* 'I, Hannibal, am suing for peace'.

p. 414: Hofmann & Szantyr find Greek influence in the proleptic construction Verg. *Aen.* 1,69: *incute uim uentis submersasque obrue puppes* 'hurl fury into your winds, sink and overwhelm the ships'.

p. 416: The expression *capit* + infinitive, for example *Vulg. Luc.* 13,33: *non capit prophetam perire* seems to be a Graecism because it corresponds to οὐκ ἐνδέχεται προφήτην ἀπολέσθαι 'it is impossible for a prophet to be killed'.

p. 428: Use of *sine* in expressions like Cic. *nat. deor.* 2,74: *hominem sine arte, sine litteris, insultantem in omnes, sine acumine ullo, sine auctoritate, sine lepore* 'an uncultivated, illiterate person, who tilts at everybody and is entirely devoid of penetration, authority, or charm', corresponding to Greek ἄτεχνον, ἀγράμματον, etc. (see Pease 1958: 744).

p. 450: Enn. *trag.* 88–89: *quo accidam? quo applicem? / cui nec arae patriae domi stant, fractae et disiectae iacent* 'where can I go, where can I appeal? I for whom at home no country's altars stand, they lie broken, torn apart'. Here, *nec* occurs like the Greek οὐδέ. Hofmann & Szantyr refer to Kroll (1933: 107). Kroll considered two passages, from Terence and Horace, but Horace quoted and adapted Terence's lines: Ter. *Eun.* 46–49: *non eam* <u>*ne*</u> ***nunc*** <u>*quidem*</u> ***/ quom*** *accersor* ***ultro****?* ***an potius*** *ita me comparem / non perpeti meretricum contumelias?/* ***exclusit; reuocat; redeam? non si me obsecret*** 'I don't go even when she invites me herself? Or would it be better to set myself not to put up with the insults of such women? She shut me out, now she recalls me; am I to go back? No, not if she implores me'; Hor. *sat.* 2,3,262–264: '<u>*nec*</u> ***nunc, cum*** *me uocet* ***ultro****, / accedam?* ***an potius*** *mediter*

finire dolores?/ ***exclusit, reuocat: redeam? non, si obsecret****.' ecce.*[83] Kroll (1933: 107) rightly observes: "Eindeutig ist auch Hor. S. 2,3,262 *nec nunc cum* [...]; denn auch mit vielen Worten läßt sich die Tatsache nicht aus der Welt schaffen, daß an der von Horaz paraphrasierten Terenzstelle *ne nunc quidem* steht". Conversely, for Jocelyn (1967: 247): "The legal flavour of the preceding verses suggests that *nec* is an archaism (cf. *Lex XII tab.* 5,4: *cui suus heres nec escit*, 8,16: *quod nec manifestum erit*) rather than a Graecism ('*ne ... quidem*', οὐδέ)". However, Jocelyn's claim is not certain, because even in the *Leges XII Tabularum*, Graecism is not impossible. Whether (as I believe) or not Graecisms are present in these *Leges* is a much-discussed question (see Calboli 2005b) and there is room for doubt, but it is a total methodological mistake to refer to the *Leges XII Tabularum* to demonstrate that a possible Graecism is not a Graecism.[84] Therefore, I accept Kroll's opinion and reject Jocelyn's explanation. Already Brenous (1895: 433) pointed out that this case is a Graecism, quoting Catull. 66,73: *nec si me infestis discrepent sidera dictis* 'not even if the stars tear me apart for slander' and Hor. *sat.* 2,3,262–264, and referring both examples to Greek models of Callimachus and Terence-Menander. Though Brenous exaggerated in recognizing Graecisms everywhere, in this case I agree with him.

p. 451: Catull. 64,83: *funera Cecropiae nec funera* is a Graecism (cf. Ferrarino 1941–1942: 41f.: "a sentence in the form of an oxymoron, peculiar to the language of Greek tragedy" [trans. P.B. & P.C.]), compare Soph. *Oed. R.* 1214: ἄγαμος γάμος, Eur. *Herc.* 88,9: γένος ἄγονον (Lucr. 2,1054: *innumero numero* 'in unnumbered numbers', Cic. *Phil.* 1,5: *insepulta sepultura*). The origin can be found in Hom. *Od.* 18,72: Ἶρος Ἄϊρος.

p. 451: Irenaeus uses *neque* 715 times and *nec* only 117 but always uses *neque* to translate the Greek οὔτε, μήτε, οὐδέ, μηδέ. Therefore, the strong predominance of *neque* seems to be influenced by Greek.

p. 453: *omnis non nemo* in the Bible is a Semitic expression (Heb. *kol* + negation) (cf. Rubio, this vol.) transmitted through Greek (Wackernagel

83. Terence is imitated or repeated not only by Horace, but also by Pers. 5,172–173: *quid igitur faciam? nec nunc cum arcesset et ultro / supplicet accedam?*

84. Some scholars exclude the possibility of Graecism in the *Laws of XII Tables* without, in my opinion, sufficient reason, see Delz (1966), Guillen (1968: 245), Ducos (1978), Bauman (1983: 128), Calboli (2005b: 161f.), Schiavone (2005: 81–83).

1950 [1926]: 273ff., e.g., *Vulg. Ez.* 44,9: *omnis alienigena ... non ingredietur sanctuarium meum* ~ πᾶς υἱὸς ἀλλογενὴς ... οὐκ εἰσελεύσεται εἰς τὰ ἅγιά μου 'no foreigner shall enter my sanctuary').

p. 460: The expression *ut quid* (a rhetorical question) following the *Vetus Latina* and the Vulgate is frequently used by Christian authors in imitation of Greek ἵνα τί[85] (see Rönsch 1965 [1875]: 253ff., e.g., *Matth.* 9,4: *ut quid cogitatis mala* (*Vetus Latina*) – *ut quid cogitatis mala in cordibus vestris* ~ ἵνα τί ἐνθυμεῖσθε πονηρὰ ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ὑμῶν 'why do you think evil in your hearts'). This expression was employed as late as Gregory of Tours, for example, *Franc.* 5,5 (197,37): *ut quid sedem meam pollues? ut quid ecclesiam pervadis? ut quid oves mihi creditas dispergis* (see Bonnett 1890: 325).

p. 462: In the *Vetus Latina* and Vulgate, the interrogative particle *ne* occurs instead of *nonne* in direct questions and not in enclitic position, for example, *Vet. Lat. Ioh.* 4,12: (ex Tert. *adv. Marc.* 4,35) *ne tu maior sis* ~ *Vulgata: numquid tu maior es* μὴ σὺ μείζων εἶ 'are you greater than ... ' (see Rönsch 1965 [1875]: 400ff.; and on the Greek μή, see Blass & Debrunner (1976: 355, 365). *Vitae Patr.* 5,13,1: *ne mutatus sum ego?* (see Salonius 1920: 316).

p. 472: The "proleptischer Akkusativ" in Late Latin writers is influenced by Greek. The construction is clear in Cic. *epist.* 8,10,3: *nosti Marcellum quam tardus sit et parum efficax, itemque Servius quam cunctator* 'you know Marcellus how slow he is and not efficient, and likewise Servius how much he delays' (see Calboli 1997a: 49–66). This construction also existed in Greek, already in Hom. *Il.* 2,409: ᾔδεε γὰρ κατὰ θυμὸν ἀδελφεὸν ὡς ἐπονεῖτο 'for he knew in his heart wherewith his brother was busied', Her. 3,80,2: εἴδετε μὲν γὰρ τὴν Καμβύσεω ὕβριν ἐπ' ὅσον ἐπεξῆλθε 'for you saw to what lengths Cambyses' insolence went'. Whether Latin was influenced by Greek is unclear, but in any case, the structure is the same in Greek and Latin. Brenous (1895: 379–389) discusses two important points: this idiom is a product of the spoken language, and it is very rare in Classical Latin but well represented in Early Latin (in particular in Plautus and Terence, whose models were the Greek comics, e.g., Plaut. *Aul.* 542: *meminerunt sese unde oriundi sient* 'they remembered what their origin was'; *Bacch.* 555: *dic modo hominem qui sit* 'only tell me who the fellow is'; Ter. *Haut.* 372: *patrem*

85. On ἵνα τί or ἱνατί, see Blass & Debrunner (1976: 249).

nouisti ad has res quam sit perspicax 'you know your father, how he is pretty keen-sighted in these matters'). Brenous's points cannot be disregarded, especially given that this idiom shares the same structure in Greek and Latin, see Calboli (1997a: 51–61). But the construction also occurs in an author who does not seem to have been particularly open to Greek influence: Cato *agr.* 5,5: *uillam uideat clausa ut siet* 'he must see that the farmstead is closed'. On Cato's attitude toward the Greeks, see also Astin (1978: 157).[86] This is thus a typical half-Graecism, a construction that could have developed directly in Latin, but was encouraged by a similar or even identical Greek expression.

p. 481: There is possible Greek influence, in Hofmann & Szantyr's opinion, in the repetition of *et*, as in Verg. *ecl.* 3,104: *dic, quibus in terris, et eris mihi magnus Apollo* 'tell me in what lands – and to me be great Apollo', Ov. *rem.* 22: *desinat: et nulli funeris auctor eris.*

p. 482: Hofmann & Szantyr think that Greek influence must be excluded in the use of *et* before a new clause, as in Petron. 38,8: *quom Incuboni pilleum rapuisset, et* (ἐν τούτῳ) *deleuerunt*. However, in my opinion, a Greek basis cannot be excluded. Of course I accept *et* in Petronius's text, because the only reason to exclude it is a grammatical argument, which is not an adequate reason. Gell. 2,29,8: *haec ubi ille dixit, et discessit*; Lampr. *Heliog.* 30,6: *quem quo anno Sybaritae reppererunt, et perierunt* 'which the men of Sybaris invented in the year in which they all perished' (cf. Löfstedt, 1911: 202ff., and *ThLL* V 2,896,53–897,34).

p. 487: The use of *sed* before a new clause could be reinforced by Greek, where clauses frequently begin with ἀλλά (εἰ καὶ . . . , ἀλλά). However, an adversative after a conditional clause seems natural and occurs not only in Greek and Latin (cf. Schwyzer & Debrunner 1959: 571; Hofmann & Szantyr 1972: 490), but also in Hittite *kinun-a* 'but (*a*) now (*kinun*)' (see Calboli 1997b: 52).

86. I agree with Astin (1978:180f.), who states: "Cato patently did not react to 'Hellenism' as to a package, to be accepted or rejected in its entirety, nor yet was his 'selective' reaction balanced, considered, and coherent. A wide acquaintance with matters Greek extended in some directions to an easy familiarity, in others to a hostile prejudice. In respect of Greek culture it is more meaningful to speak of Cato's attitudes rather than his attitude". See also Chassignet (1986: XXIII–XXVII) and Cugusi and Sblendorio Cugusi (2001: 106).

p. 505: The particle *nam* after a vocative has been compared with the Greek style of opening an invocation, as in Hom. *Il.* 24,334–335: Ἑρμεία, σοὶ γάρ τε μάλιστά γε φίλτατόν ἐστιν / ἀνδρὶ ἑταιρίσσαι 'Hermes, seeing you love above all others to companion a man' (cf. Denniston 1959: 69). It is, therefore, a Graecism: Hor. *carm.* 3,11,1–2: *Mercuri – nam te docilis magistro / mouit Amphion lapides canendo* – 'Mercury – for thanks to your teaching, Amphion learned how to move blocks of stone by his song –', as pointed out by Kiessling and Heinze (1959: 309), Hofmann & Szantyr, and recently confirmed by Nisbet and Rudd (2004: 154) with other examples and literature.

p. 511: The particle *ergo* is employed like ἄρα by Homer and Hellenistic poets. Nicias *Anth. Pal.* 6,127, Verg. *Aen.* 6,456–457: *infelix Dido, uerus mihi nuntius ergo / uenerat extinctam* 'unhappy Dido, was the tale true, then, that came to me, that you were dead' ~ Hom. *Od.* 11,553–554: Αἶαν, παῖ Τελαμῶνος ἀμύμονος οὐκ ἄρ' ἔμελλες / οὐδὲ θανὼν λήσεσθαι ἐμοὶ χόλου 'écoute, Ajax, ô fils du noble Télamon, quoi! jusque dans la mort, tu me gardes rigueur?' (trans. Bérard). Cf. Norden (1957: 253) and Fedeli (1980: 208ff., 1985: 232, on Prop. 3,7,1). Other examples include Ov. *trist.* 3,2, Hor. *carm.* 1,24,5: *ergo Quintilium perpetuus sopor / urguet* 'so then, sleep without end lies heavy on Quintilius' (with *ergo* at the beginning, Nisbet and Hubbard 1970: 283).

p. 515: The repetition *que – que* is called a Graecism and compared with Greek τε – τε by Norden (1957: 228):

> Den Hexameter mit *-que -que* zu schließen, eine für seinen Bau sehr bequeme Praxis, hatte Ennius nach griechischem τε – τε eingeführt bei Ennius 9 mal überliefert, nach dessen Munster überaus oft Vergil.

Timpanaro (1988: 273) investigates this idiom and accepts Graecism, observing correctly that the use of *-que -que -que* was very frequent in Latin too: Timpanaro treats it as a tricolon, a clause with three members: Plaut. *Aul.* 218: *quae res bene uortat mihique tibique tuaeque filiae* 'and may it turn out happily for you and your girl and me'.

p. 516: *quoque et* is considered a Graecism of the kind τε – καί but not employed before Irenaeus 4,5: *ipse quoque et omnes qui … credunt deo* (cf. Löfstedt 1911: 138).

p. 520: *est quando – est quando* corresponds to Greek ἔστιν ὅτε – ἔστι ὅτε but occurs only in very Late Latin: Prisc. *gramm.* II 190,17: *est quando pro genetiuo, est quando pro datiuo accipitur* 'sometimes it is employed instead of the genitive, sometimes of the dative', II 457,20ff. *est quando faciunt differentiam uel accentuum uel litterarum mutatione, est quando non faciunt* 'sometimes they are different, because of changing of stress or some letters, sometimes they are not', as observed by Wölfflin (1885: 250).

p. 543ff.: The *si*-clause with interrogative meaning occurs already in Early Latin, but this use is not recognized by all scholars. In some of Bräunlich's (1920: 78ff.) examples, it is not clear whether it is an interrogative or a conditional clause. The first clear interrogative example, according to Bräunlich (1920: 201–204), seems to be Ter. *Hec.* 320–321: *uxorem Philumenam / pauitare nescioquid dixerunt: id si forte est nescio* 'they said your wife, Philumena, had something of shivering: I don't know whether it fits'. As for Greek influence stimulating this construction, while it is doubtful in Early and Classical Latin, it seems unquestionable in the Vulgate or Livy, texts with Greek correspondence: Liv. 39,50,7: *nihil aliud locutum ferunt quam quaesisse, si incolumis Lycortas … equitesque euasissent* 'it is said that he asked only whether Lycortas was safe and the cavalry had escaped' ∼ Pol. ἠρώτησεν εἴ τι … πεπυσμένος ἐστίν 'he asked whether he knew something'.[87] Cf. Löfstedt (1911: 327); Hofmann & Szantyr (1972: 544). The question is discussed in depth by Calboli (1968: 412ff. with bibliography), to which Bodelot (1987: 82–84) must be added. The use of the *si*-clause with interrogative meaning became more frequent with some verbs, such as *quaerere*, *uidere*, *aspicere, mirari.*

p. 566ff.: Hor. *sat.* 1,6,14ff.: *notante / iudice quo nosti populo* 'under the censure of the judge you know, the people' is declared "wohl gräzisierend" by Hofmann & Szantyr and given as a clear Graecism by Brenous (1895: 367–372), who refers to Kühner & Gerth ([1890–1904] 1955: 406–416), in order to demonstrate that this "attraction du relatif" was normal in Greek. I think that this explanation of an odd expression is correct (Calboli 1987: 14).

87. This example does not actually occur in the extant work of Polybius. It seems to have been invented by Hofmann & Szantyr. I do not agree with this method. On the knowledge of Latin on the part of Greek historians, see Dubuisson (1979), who sometimes forces the interpretation of the texts somewhat.

Further examples are given by Rönsch (1965 [1875]: 443ff.): *Vet. Lat. Luc.* 2,20: *laudantes Deum in omnibus quibus audierunt et uiderunt* 'glorifying and praising God for all they had heard and seen' ~ *Vulg. laudantes Deum in omnibus, quae audierant et uiderant* ~ αἰνοῦντες τὸν θεὸν ἐπὶ πᾶσιν οἷς ἤκουσαν καὶ εἶδον. Touratier (1980: 231) too explains this idiom as a Graecism. In Bible translations (collected and compared to the Greek by Rönsch 1965 [1875]), the Graecism is beyond any doubt.

p. 568: Case assimilation is considered a Graecism in translations by Christian authors, such as *Vitae patr.* 5,10,76: *me miserum quem uides, de … Roma sum* ~ ἐμὲ τὸν ταπεινὸν ὃν βλέπεις, ἐκ Ῥ. ἐ. However, Löfstedt (1956: 115) points out that this usage is rare in Greek. This can therefore be considered a Graecism only because it is a translation from Greek to Latin by a Christian author and only when similar cases are known.

p. 578: The construction with *quod*, *quia* + ind. or subj. instead of Accusativus cum Infinitivo is either a Graecism, as in Ammianus Marcellinus's *Res Gestae*, or the result of partial Greek influence. See Cuzzolin (1994: 189–289). For Ammianus Marcellinus, see Calboli (2002: 71–86, 2003: 486–491).

p. 587: In irrealis conditional clauses, the indicative occurs in full imitation of the Greek model, as in *Vulg. psalm.* 93,17: *nisi quia dominus audiuit me, paulo minus habitasset in inferno anima mea* 'if the Lord had not been my help, my soul would soon have lived in the land of silence' ~ εἰ μὴ ὅτι ὁ κύριος ἐβοήθησέ μοι κτλ.

p. 594: The omission of *magis* in comparative clauses is an imitation of the Greek Bible, as in *Vulg. Marc.* 9,45: *bonum est tibi claudum introire in uitam aeternam, quam duos pedes habentem mitti in gehennam* ~ καλόν ἐστίν σε εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν ζωὴν χωλόν, ἢ τοὺς δύο πόδας ἔχοντα βληθῆναι εἰς τὴν γέενναν. Further examples are given by Rönsch (1965 [1875]: 442ff.: "Griechische Comparation: Positiv für Comparativ, fehlender Comparativ").

p. 600: The idiom *primum* (*primo*) *quam* instead of *antequam* or *priusquam* occurs in the *Vetus Latina* under influence of Greek πρῶτον ἤ, as in *Ioh.* 15,18: *si mundus uos odit, scitote quia me primum odio habuit quam uos* ~ *Vulgata*: *me priorem odio habuit* ~ εἰ ὁ κόσμος ὑμᾶς μισεῖ, γιγνώσκετε ὅτι ἐμὲ πρῶτον ὑμῶν μεμίσηκεν 'if the world hates you, be aware that it hated me before it hated you'. Löfstedt (1956: 386) excludes direct Graecism, positing that a parallel development of the vulgar layer took place in both languages. This is another possible explanation of some real or apparent

Graecisms in Vulgar Latin: “was hier vorliegt, ist also nicht Reproduktion, sondern Parallelität der Entwicklung” (Löfstedt 1956: 387).

p. 625: In the *cum narrativum*, the subjunctive is replaced by the indicative under the influence of Greek, as in *Vet. Lat.* (cod. g) *act.* 7,17: *cum adpropinquabat tempus* ∼ *Vulgata*: *cum adpropinquaret tempus* ∼ καθὼς δὲ ἤγγιζεν ὁ χρόνος ‘as the time drew near’; Amm. 21,1,4: *ambitioso diademate utebatur, lapidum fulgore distincto, cum inter exordia principatus uili corona circumdatus erat* ‘he wore a magnificent diadem, set with gleaming gems, whereas at the beginning of his principate he had assumed and worn a cheap crown’ (this *cum* is close to *adversativum*).

p. 631: *ut* meaning ‘where’ is a Graecism in Cicero, where he translates Aratus *Aratea* 2–3: *nam caeli mediam partem terit, ut prius illae / chelae, tum pectus qua cernitur Orionis* (Löfstedt 1956: 415).

p. 639: The consecutive clause seems to have sometimes been conditioned by Greek, as in Gaius II,78: *consequens est, ut utilis mihi actio aduersum te dari debet* ‘it follows that I should be allowed an equitable action against you’ / *debet* Veronensis (codex unicus), *debeat* Seckl and Kübler, sed contra Löfstedt (1956: 431); IV,66: *adeo ut quibusdam placet / placet* V *placeat* Seckel and Kübler / *non omni modo uinum cum uino aut triticum cum tritico compensandum*. The indicative occurs instead of the subjunctive in other Late Latin texts, such as *Itin. Eger.* 7,3: *nam mihi credat uolo affectio uestra, quantum tamen peruidere potui, filios Israhel sic ambulasse, ut quantum irent dextra, tantum reuerterentur sinistra, quantum denuo in ante ibant, tantum denuo retro reuertebantur*; 19,3: *ecclesia autem, ibi que est, ingens et ualde pulchra et noua dispositione, ut uere digna est esse domus Dei* (Väänänen 1987: 78) and it occurs already in Cicero *off.* 3,45: *Damonem et Phintiam Pythagoreos ferunt eo animo inter se fuisse, ut, cum eorum alteri Dionysius tyrannus diem necis destinauisset … uas factus est alter eius sistendi* ‘they say that Damon and Phintias, of the Pythagorean school, enjoyed such ideally perfect friendship, that when the tyrant Dionysius had appointed a day for the execution of one of them, the other became surety for his appearance’.[88] I am therefore not sure that this is a Graecism, while *ut* (consecutive)

88. Winterbottom (1994) reads *factus sit* but in the apparatus states that he is in doubt, writing: “*sit* Man[utius 1541]: *est* z [consensus codicum BPQV]Nc, Non[ius 484,22], quod fort. Cic. scripsit”; cf. also Calboli (1997a: 329).

+ infinitive seems to be a clear Graecism in, for example, *Vet. Lat. II Cor.* 2,7: *uti e contrario magis uos donare* ~ *Vulgata*: *ita ut e contrario magis donetis* ~ ὥστε τοὐναντίον μᾶλλον ὑμᾶς χαρίσασθαι (see Löfstedt 1911: 250); Gaius III 160: *sed utilitatis causa receptum est, ut, si mortuo eo, qui mihi mandauerit, ignorans eum decessisse executus fuero mandatum, posse me / possem* Gradenwitz / *agere mandati actione* 'but on practical grounds, it has become established that if I carry out a mandate after its giver's death, but in ignorance of that fact, I can sue by *actio mandati*'. Löfstedt (1956: 432) points out that this Greek construction (on which see Calboli 1995) is not strange in Gaius, because Gaius was either a Greek or working in the Greek East. This confirms that it is a real Graecism.

p. 648: Pelagius (*Vitae patr.* 5,5,31) uses the participle rendering exactly the corresponding Greek expression: *stulte feci, non di⟨cend⟩o tibi uale discedens* ~ ἀφρόνως ἐποίησα ἀσυντάκτως ἐξελθῶν 'I acted stupidly by leaving without saying good-bye'.

p. 650: Hofmann & Szantyr, following Wackernagel (1950 [1926]: 277), acknowledge a Graecism in *quomodo ne* to signify an aim. This construction occurs in Rut. Lup. 1,9: *quaesitis maximis sumptibus faciendis, quomodo ne tributa conferatis*, a simple "Wiedergabe" of the Greek ὅπως μή.

p. 662: Imperfect subjunctive instead of pluperfect was normal in Early Latin and must be considered an archaism in Late Latin, as in Exup. 23: *qui tamen difficile uinceretur, nisi in conuiuio occisus esset*. But I do not agree with Hofmann & Szantyr that this is a Graecism, because imperfect instead of pluperfect was widespread in Latin and did not need the help of Greek (cf. Calboli 1966: 282).

p. 667: Conditional negation *si non* instead of *nisi* under the influence of Greek εἰ μή, *Vet. Lat. Matth.* 5,20: *similes sunt si non abundauerit iustitia uestra* ~ *Vulgata*: *nisi abundauerit iustitia uestra* ~ ἐὰν μὴ περισσεύσῃ ὑμῶν ἡ δικαιοσύνη 'unless your righteousness exceeds'.

p. 674: Hofmann & Szantyr, following Kalb (1890: 123), consider the following a Graecism Tryph. *dig.* 49,15,12,8: *cum constitutio non deteriorem causam redimentium, sed si quo meliorem effecerit* 'when an imperial regulation has not reduced but even strengthened the reason of one who sets someone free', perhaps a translation of the Greek εἴ που.

p. 699: Verg. *Aen.* 2,353: *moriamur et in media arma ruamus* 'let us die, and rush into the battle's midst' has been explained as a Homeric *hysteron*

proteron by Norden (1957: 379), who considered Cic. *Att.* 1,16,1: *respondebo tibi* ὕστερον πρότερον, ὁμηρικῶς ∼ 'I shall answer you Homerically, the cart before the horse' (on this *hysteron proteron*, cf. Torzi [2000: 228, 246ff.]).

p. 705: The repetition of the same adjective in the same or in a different case, as in Ter. *Ad.* 299: *si omnia omnes sua consilia conferant* 'if all people put all their heads together', is called a Graecism by Marx on Lucil. 1234: *insidias facere, ut hostes sint omnibus omnes*. Marx (1904–1905: 391) quotes Plato:

> Sententia sumpta videtur e Plat. leg. I cap. 3 p. 626D ὅτι νυνδὴ ὑφ' ἡμῶν ὀρθῶς ἐρρήθη τὸ πολεμίους εἶναι πάντας πᾶσι δημοσίᾳ τε καὶ ἰδίᾳ ἑκάστους αὐτοὺς σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ['the justice of our recent statement that, in the mass, all men are both publicly and privately the enemies of all'], cap. 2 p. 626A πάσαις πρὸς πάσας τὰς πόλεις ἀεὶ πόλεμον ἀκήρυκτον κατὰ φύσιν εἶναι ['the truth being that every State is, by a law of nature, engaged perpetually in an informal war with every other State'].

p. 711: In general, plays on words are considered Greek in origin, and Hofmann & Szantyr refer to Leo (1912: 34). Leo acknowledges the influence of Greek rhetoric in the use of rhetorical figures by Naevius, Plautus, and Ennius. Such influence, in my opinion, can be admitted only for Terence (see Calboli 1982: 41–71, 100–108). I still hold that position and affirm even more strongly that the Romans in Terence's time knew Greek rhetoric quite well. The alleged objections are insignificant.

p. 766: Concerning neologisms, Hofmann & Szantyr observe that the necessity of translating from Greek produced many new words, taking into account what Horace himself wrote: *ars* 52–53: *et noua fictaque nuper habebunt uerba fidem, si / Graeco fonte cadent parce detorta* 'new and recently fashioned words will gain acceptance if they tumble from the well-spring of Greek by judicious diversion' (see Brink 1971: 143). A collection of Greek words in Horace is given by Ruckdeschel (1910–1911: 47ff.).[89] On Horace's Graecisms, see also Ciancaglini (1997), less useful because it treats the linguistic aspect well but neglects the philological. See also Minarini (1997: 34–55). Laevius seems to have produced a significant series of neologisms

89. But see also Schaefler (1884).

imitating Greek authors (see Leo 1914: 182ff., 182 n. 2). As for syntactic Graecisms, Leo (1914: 182 n. 2) stresses that the participle *meminens* (frg. 3 Morel of Laevius) seems to be formed like the Greek μεμνημένος.

p. 804: Multiple negation occurs in Late Latin, as in *Vet. Lat. Ioh.* 6,39: *omne, quod dedit mihi, non perdam nihil ex eo* ~ *Vulgata*: *omne, quod dedit mihi, non perdam ex eo* ~ πὰν ὁ δέδωκέν μοι μὴ ἀπολέσω ἐξ αὐτοῦ 'I should lose nothing of all that he has given me', frequently, but not in this case, under Greek influence, as in *Exod.* 10,15 *Itala*: *non est relictum uiride nihil in lignis* ~ *Vulgata*: *nihilque omnino uirens relictum est in lignis* ~ οὐχ ὑπολείφθη χλωρὸν οὐδὲν ἐν τοῖς ξύλοις 'nothing green was left in trees'.

p. 811: Influence of Greek sometimes produced a sequence of three *cola*, as in *Vitae patr.* 5,16,4: *sanus sis, sanus sis, sanus sis*; 3,155: *salueris salueris salueris* ~ σωθείης, σωθείης, σωθείης. The *epanalepsis* (Lat. *conduplicatio*, *Rhet. Her.* 4,27,38) is a figure of speech treated by many rhetoricians and grammarians collected by Calboli ([1969] 1993: 362–364). Hofmann & Szantyr acknowledge Graecism in this kind of repetition, influenced by Homer and Alexandrian poets and occurring in Cicero *Arat.* 948, and Lucr. 5,950–951: *umida saxa, / umida saxa* 'wet rocks, wet rocks'. Bailey (1966: 156–158) stresses the Lucretian use of repetition, sometimes with change of case, as in 4,1259: *crassaque conueniant liquidis et liquida crassis* 'that thick should unite with liquid and liquid with thick' (ed. Bailey).

p. 834: The ἀπὸ κοινοῦ figure is used by Augustan poets, probably under Greek influence. De Meo (1994: 212) confirms that this figure in the form of an anaphor and double reference of a preposition is frequent in Greek but rare in Latin (Verg. *Aen.* 7,296–297: *medias acies mediosque per ignes / inuenere uiam* 'through the midst of armies, through the midst of flames, they have found a way'). Influence of Greek thus seems likely, especially in poetry ("anders zu beurteilen ist die Figur in der Dichtung seit Catull., besonders seit den Augusteern, wo sie aus der freien poetischen Wortstellung in der Nachahmung der Griechen leicht erklärlich ist", Hofmann & Szantyr 1972: 835). See also Norden (1957: 256).

p. 88*: On Graecism in general, Hofmann & Szantyr refer to Devoto (1932), who believes that in Early Latin, up to Ennius, syntactic Graecisms are limited to the syntax of cases, while in Late Latin they include combination of cases and the system of embedding clauses.

In conclusion, in Late Latin, Graecisms are sometimes evident only in translations of Greek texts. This phenomenon appears especially in Christian authors, who were not conditioned by the Roman tradition but tried to renew not only the religion, but also the culture and the language of Rome. This is a state of affairs of which the Christian writers were conscious and which to an extent influenced Christian Latin, although we do not distinguish it from normal Latin. Graecism here acted as a kind of Latin (or super-Latin) that could be employed in particular expressions either by adapting Latin to it or transcending normal Latin entirely. The very existence of these expressions demonstrates, on the one hand, how greatly Christian Latin speakers cared for Greek, even more so than Early and Classical Romans, and on the other, that these authors considered Greek a suitable substitute for Latin or even an improvement on it. In any case, these Graecisms affected individual expressions and did not produce a systematic and long-term change.

Other matters concerning the *Vetus Latina* and the Vulgate are given by Rönsch (1965 [1875]: 434–451), among them first the relative instead of the Greek article (Rönsch 1965 [1875]: 443), as in *Vet. Lat. Luc.* 7,32: *similes sunt infantibus qui foro sedentibus et adloquentibus ad inuicem* ∼ *Vulgata*: *similes sunt pueris sedentibus in foro et loquentibus ad inuicem* ∼ ὅμοιοί εἰσιν παιδίοις τοῖς ἐν ἀγορᾷ καθημένοις καὶ προσφωνοῦσιν ἀλλήλοις 'they are like children sitting in the marketplace and calling one another', *Luc.* 12,5: *timete eum qui postquam occidit, habet potestatem mittere in gehennam* (*Vetus Latina*) *quem timeatis: quem, post occiderit, habentem potestatem in gehennam mittere* (ms. Cantabr.) ∼ *timete eum qui, postquam occiderit, habet potestatem mittere in gehennam* (Vulgata) ∼ φοβήθητε τὸν μετὰ τὸ ἀποκτεῖναι ἔχοντα ἐχουσίαν ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τήν γέενναν 'fear him, who after he has killed, has authority to cast into hell'; and second, the attraction of the relative, as in Luc. 1,1: *rerum narrationem de his quibus conpleta sunt* (*Vetus Latina*, ms. Cantabr.) ∼ *narrationem, quae in nobis completae sunt, rerum* (*Vulgata*) ∼ διήγησιν περὶ τῶν πεπληροφορημένων ἐν ἡμῖν πραγμάτων 'an account of the events that have been fulfilled among us', 3,19: *de omnibus quibus fecit malis Herodes* ∼ *de omnibus malis, quae fecit Herodes* (*Vulgata*) ∼ περὶ πάντων ὧν ἐποίησεν πονηρῶν ὁ Ἡρῴδης 'because of the all evil things that Herod had done'.

5. Graecism and style

Questions of style might be considered beyond the purview of this chapter,[90] but because Szantyr (Hofmann & Szantyr 1972) devotes some pages (759–765) to Graecism in his discussion of Latin stylistics (Hofmann & Szantyr 1972: 683–842), two of them (764–765) on “Syntaktische und phraseologische Gräzismen”,[91] I touch on this issue. Szantyr distinguishes not only complete and partial Graecism, but also direct (primary) and indirect (secondary) Graecism. He points out that Early Latin writers, though not Ennius, attempt bold Graecisms, for example, Enn. *ann.* 95: *conspicit inde sibi data Romulus esse priora* ‘from this Romulus saw that first place was given to him’, which can be explained, as Kroll (1924: 249) and Löfstedt (1956: 411ff.) believe, only through the comparison of the Greek use of τὰ πρῶτα; *ann.* 49: *multa manus ad caeli caerula templa tendebam* ‘many a time did I keep holding out my hands toward the blue precincts of the sky’ (again Kroll and Löfstedt note the Greek πολλά, like Hom. *Il.* 1,35: πολλὰ δ’ ἔπειτ’ ἀπάνευθε κιὼν ἠρᾶθ’ ὁ γεραιὸς ‘and the old man did so pray to the prince when he had gone apart’ and perhaps closer to Ennius Hom. *Il.* 1,351: πολλὰ δὲ μητρὶ φίλῃ ἠρήσατο χεῖρας ὀρεγνύς ‘and earnestly did he pray to his dear mother with hands outstretched’); *ann.* 21: *transnauit cita per teneras caliginis auras* ‘along she floated swiftly through thin wafts of mistiness’ (Hom. *Il.* 23,287: ταχέες δ’ ἱππῆες ἄγερθεν ‘and the swift charioteers bestirred them’). Kroll (1924: 249) criticizes Leo for trying to exclude Graecisms from archaic writers (“Ein neuerdings unternommener Versuch, seine Gräzismen abzuleugnen oder als völlig belanglos hinzustellen [(69) Leo, *Plaut. Forsch.* 103], ist nicht geglückt”). Leo discusses some supposed Graecisms in Plautus, in particular the genitive as in *numquam* ... *quisquam homo mortalis* ... *duarum rerum creduit* ‘may no living soul ever again believe me as to the two things’ (Plaut. *Truc.* 307), which Leo explains correctly by comparing the jurist genitive and a passage in the *Tab. Bant.* 24: *prumedicatud. manimaserum. eizazunc.*

90. See the well-balanced judgment by Traina (Traina et al. 2002: VIf.) in the Italian translation of Szantyr’s *Stylistics*. However, Szantyr’s merit of considering rhetorical criteria and rhetorical figures is undervalued.
91. In the “Aggiornamenti” by Oniga (Italian translation, see Traina et al. 2002: 308), only five lines are added.

egmazum 'pro iudicato manum adserere earum rerum'. These cases involve the genitive of relation ("des Sachbetreffs") discussed above[92] (see Section 2.1.2.4); but this type is not enough to exclude Ennius's Graecisms. I agree here with Kroll and Löfstedt, though Leo's observation seems not to have been a direct objection to the presence of Graecisms in Ennius. References on Graecisms in Latin syntax are given by Cousin (1951: 107ff.), Löfstedt (1956: 406–457), and Rosén (1999: 21–30).

6. Conclusion

Graecisms that entered the Roman language before the end of the Republic concern mostly the cases. Later Graecisms involve syntactic structure as well, because of the practice of Christian authors. However, while the influence of Greek seems to have been stronger in Christian authors, it has been suggested that some features of the New Testament are influenced by Latin. An example is the increased use of the connecting relative, given that such an increase is seen in Polybius, who was strongly influenced by Latin. Dubuisson (1985: 252) writes that the connecting relative was not merely frequent in Polybius, but particularly in expressions which are closer to Latin than to Greek. On the other hand, he observes that this construction is less common in Early Latin and begins to be employed by Cicero and Caesar, but with so few texts at hand, we know too little about Early Latin prose. I am tempted to agree with this observation, though it is an always-dangerous argument *e silentio*.[93]

Ammianus Marcellinus too, as a Greek soldier using Latin in the historical genre, shows a strong Greek influence but wrote in Latin, albeit a complicated Latin. Is this a Syrian style, as suggested by Fontaine (1992: 36)?

92. For examples in Early Latin, see Bennett (1914: 99f.).

93. However, Langslow (2002: 44) expresses some doubt, considering that we have no Greek between Theophrastus and Polybius. Moreover, the connecting relative occurs already in Xenophon (*Comm.* 1,2,64 and others) and Plato (see Kühner & Gerth 1955: 435f.), and Schwyzer & Debrunner (1951: 644) give some examples already in Homer, *Od.* 4,685ff., although all scholars recognize that the connecting relative was not widespread in Greek. It was much less widespread than in Latin, in my opinion, because this kind of relative was replaced in Greek by the article (see Calboli 1997a: 210).

Fontaine acknowledges some stylistic peculiarities in the plastic art ("Théodosien") of this age as well, in particular long clauses, word order, and the use of the participle. Nevertheless, it seems that his style, though baroque and strongly influenced by Greek, remained Latin, of course of his age, in what I would prefer to call a Late Latin historical style.

It seems to me that Graecism remained external to the Latin language, employed to produce a close copy of some expression as a stylistic tool. It was a very widespread sort of graft onto all kinds of Latin. To explore the depth and durability of this graft would require a more extensive inquiry. Despite many borrowings from Greek into Latin, some from Latin into Greek, and interference between the two languages, this interaction did not alter the core of the Latin language and grammar, because it never touched the core difference between the two languages. The core difference was the absence of the article in Latin and its presence in Greek with all the associated phenomena. First, the generalization of the Accusativus cum Infinitivo in Latin for all kinds of declarative clauses, while this construction was seriously challenged in Greek by clauses introduced by ὅτι, ὡς, ὅπως + indicative or optative (either with or without ἄν).[94] This made it necessary for Greek to use referential pronouns to connect nouns referred to in different clauses, and those pronouns became the articles. Although some Latin speakers writing Greek reduced the use of the article, and conversely the Greek article was sometimes expressed by *ille* as in the *Vetus Latina*, on the one hand Latin never systematically introduced the article until the development of the Romance languages, and on the other hand, the Accusativus cum Infinitivo remained the predominant, more natural construction in Late Latin (see Calboli 1997a). Moreover, this situation was linked with other points of grammar in both languages, such as the case system (Latin has one case more than Greek) and the system of diathesis (active, middle, and passive) which differs in the two languages (Calboli 1997a: 135–179, 337–351). All in all, Greek did not erode the structure of Latin, except, perhaps, in the use of the present participle by Roman historians. However, no Greek speaker, such as Ammianus Marcellinus writing his *Res Gestae* in Latin, introduced an article or used the ancestor of the article (the pronoun *ille*) more frequently. Ammianus sometimes used

94. See Calboli (1966: 338–341).

the *quod* + indicative or subjunctive instead of the Accusativus cum Infinitivo (Calboli 2002: 81–86),[95] but he never abandoned the Accusativus cum Infinitivo. Therefore, if we consider the core of Latin grammar, namely the subordination and reference system (pronouns and cases), we must deny that Latin grammar was in any way changed by Greek, some isolated and insignificant exceptions aside (the same can be said even more easily for Greek with respect to Latin). But the question suggested by bilingualism appears – from the point of view of research on core grammar – unavoidable.[96]

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95. However, a difference seems to exist between Accusativus cum Infinitivo and *quod*-clauses, as I emphasized following Reible (1983: 276–291) and Cuzzolin (1994): "Based on a paper by Wolfgang Raible 1983, Pierluigi Cuzzolin has pointed out that the key difference between the Accusativus cum Infinitivo and *quod* + indicative/subjunctive constructions consists in the ability that *quod* constructions have to express different moods which the AcI construction lacks (cf. Cuzzolin 1994: 68–71). The Latin subjunctive expresses, amongst other things, a diluted communicative responsibility of the subject of the main clause, while the same precise expression is not conveyed by the AcI construction" (Calboli 2002: 69). Writing in 2004, I think that in the *quod* construction, the indicative is not very different from the subjunctive, as shown by Ammianus Marcellinus (see Calboli 2002: 84f.), and therefore the difference of mood did not matter greatly in replacing the Accusativus cum Infinitivo construction, although I hesitate to exclude it completely because of the real possibility of distingushing the two moods available in the *quod, quia* constructions.
96. I avoid entering the question of interference, put by Dubuisson (1985: 250) in a "niveau de l'inconscient" having in general "tous les caractères d'une *inadvertance*, d'une rupture occasionelle de la norme linguistique, celle-ci restant bien entendue le but visé". On the distinction between "code-switching, interference and borrowing", see Adams (2003: 18–29).

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Gonzalo Rubio

Semitic influence in the history of Latin syntax

1. Semitic languages and Latin: language contact and translation

In studying linguistic interference, one should clearly distinguish between influence due to the historical phenomenon of actual language contact, and the influence the source language exerts on the target language as the result of a translation process. The latter case may receive the somewhat pejorative label "translationese" and does not entail any actual historical contact between speakers of the languages involved. For instance, Greek syntax heavily influenced and pushed to the limit the German used by Hölderlin in his translations of Sophocles, and the English used by Browning in his *Agamemnon*, in spite of the two millennia that separate the original from the translation.[1] Within the realm of translationese and in the specific case of Latin and the Semitic languages, a further distinction should be made between true syntactic influence and mere calques. Whereas syntactic influence spreads to similar structures and constructions, calques remain limited to specific lexical items and particular expressions.[2]

1. On the distinction between actual language contact and influence through translation in the case of Latin and Semitic languages, see Rosén (1995: 5–21). For a Greek parallel – contact between Greek and Turkish in Cappadocia *versus* translationese in the Greek Old Testament (the LXX) – see Janse (2002). On translationese *versus* poetic style in translation, see Steiner (1992: 329–350) and Reynolds (2003).
2. See Rapallo (1969, 1971). A phenomenon parallel to the calque is that of the specific semantic evolution of key terms in Biblical Latin (*cognoscere*, *confiteri*, *gloria*/*glorificare*, *adorare*, *aperire*, *claudere*, etc.), which is as much a matter of translationese as a consequence of the need to articulate a new specialized lexical repertoire grounded in the biblical text. Jerome himself wrote in detail about many of these particular terminological problems involved in his translation enterprise. For this, see especially Meershoek (1966) and García de la Fuente (1994b, 1995). For the Greek Bible, see Hill (1967).

1.1 Semitic-speaking communities in the Roman Empire

The first area of direct contact between Semitic speakers and Latin speakers that comes to mind is the Punic (or Phoenicio-Punic) realm in northern Africa. Although several famous Romans, such as the emperor Septimius Severus, Apuleius of Madaurus, and St. Augustine, may have spoken Punic or Neo-Punic, the traces of Punic influence on Latin seem mostly limited to lexical items, anthroponyms, and toponyms (Röllig 1980; Adams 2003: 200–245).[3] On the other hand, Neo-Punic does show signs of Latin syntactic influence, beyond the mere calques of formulae, especially in constructions that mirror the *ablativus absolutus* and the *gerundivum*, as well as in the SOV word order. All these features are particularly common in the Punic text of Latin–Neo-Punic bilinguals (Friedrich and Röllig 1999: 232–233).

The existence of Jewish communities in Latin-speaking areas within the Roman Empire is well known, from Pompeii and Rome to the Eastern provinces.[4] This presence has left a large number of inscriptions, generally in Latin or Greek, which are usually identified as Jewish because they contain Hebrew or Aramaic names.[5] In the Roman Near East, especially in Palestine, Syria, and Mesopotamia, Latin was never a commonly spoken language, with the exceptions of the *colonia* of Berytus (modern Beirut) and the military realm (Millar 1995). Thus, Semitic speakers kept turning to the Greek *koiné* as a lingua franca and a *Kultursprache*, even after the collapse of the Hellenis-

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3. Syntactic influence is more difficult to find and prove. Adams (1994: 91–92) argued that the construction *quere ad* in an ostracon from Bu Njem (no. 95) reflects the Punic *nota accusativi* (*t*). However, the Latin preposition *ad* here may correspond to the Semitic preposition *l*, which would constitute merely an isolated calque, rather than a true example of syntactic interference (see Jongeling 1995: 169).
4. On Jewish communities throughout the Roman Empire, see Leon (1960), Solin (1983), Barclay (1996), Noethlichs (1996, 2001), Goodman (1998), Noy (2000a, 2000b), Gruen (2002), Giordano and Kahn (2001), Mor et al. (2003).
5. On Jewish inscriptions from the Roman period, see Frey (1936), Scheiber (1983), Noy (1993, 1995), Horbury and Noy (1992), Lacerenza (1999), Ameling et al. (2004). On Jews and literacy in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, see Harris (1989: 187–188, 281–282).

tic kingdoms under the Roman Empire.[6] Therefore, a true language contact setting involving Latin, Hebrew, and Aramaic manifested itself mostly in the West, especially in the Italic peninsula. Nevertheless, in Jewish inscriptions from Italy, Hebrew appears limited to specific formulae and words within otherwise Greek or Latin texts (Adams 2003: 271–274). For Western Jews in particular, Greek was probably the most commonly spoken language, as was Aramaic for the Jews in Syria, Palestine, and Mesopotamia.

Semitic-speaking communities presented a rather fluid and variegated linguistic scenario. The oasis of Palmyra (native name Tadmor) in Syria is a good example of this situation. Although the inhabitants of Palmyra may have been ethnically – or rather culturally – Arabs, their native tongue in Late Antiquity was Aramaic.[7] However, among the approximately three thousand Palmyrene inscriptions, from Palmyra itself and from other places (especially Rome and Dura-Europos), over two hundred are Graeco-Palmyrene bilinguals, and a few are trilingual in Palmyrene, Greek, and Latin. When Palmyra acquired the status of *colonia* in the early third century, Latin disappeared from the epigraphic record at this oasis. On the other hand, the Palmyrene community living in Rome produced inscriptions that frequently mixed Latin, Greek, and Aramaic.[8] Aside from a few loanwords and calques

6. On the linguistic situation in Syro-Palestine under the Roman Empire, see Rosén (1979: 25–65, 1980, 1995: 5–39), Schmitt (1980, 1983), Taylor (2002). The use of the expression "Semitic speakers" above is intended to obviate the problematic status of Hebrew as a spoken language in Roman Palestine and Syria. The mother tongue of most Jews was Aramaic, as it was for the vast majority of peoples in Syria and Palestine. Hebrew did survive as a language spoken and written in Rabbinic circles until the end of the second century CE (not unlike Sanskrit in India and Latin in the European Middle Ages). The gradual language switch from Hebrew to Aramaic resulted in a change in the main Rabbinic language between the Tannaitic and the Amoraic periods – i.e., from the period of compilation of the *Mishnah* (in Hebrew) to that of the two *Talmudim* (in Aramaic). This switch bears witness to the fact that Hebrew had died out as a true mother tongue by 200 CE. See Sokoloff (1968), Fitzmyer (1970), Rabin (1976), Alexander (1999).
7. The same dichotomy would have characterized the Nabateans (centered in Petra, in modern Jordan): they used Aramaic but they were probably Arabs. However, it is possible that the Nabateans were merely influenced by Arabic and Arabian culture; see Retsö (2003: 364–391).
8. On the linguistic situation in Palmyra and the Palmyrene communities overseas, see Hartmann (2001: 43–44, 63–64), Kaizer (2002: 27–34), Taylor (2002: 317–324), Adams (2003: 247–271).

in titulary, there are almost no true Semiticisms in the Latin of Arameo-Latin bilinguals, in Graeco-Arameo-Latin trilinguals, and in monolingual Latin inscriptions written in an Aramaic-speaking milieu.

In general, most instances of Semitic influence on Latin due to actual language contact are limited to loanwords and semantic developments in the lexicon. Moreover, the specific role played by the alleged Semitic model is frequently difficult to determine. For instance, in the case of the expression *metuere sabbata* in an anti-Jewish invective by Juvenal (14,96), the verb *metuere* has undergone a semantic shift from ‘to fear’ to ‘to revere’. The trigger for this shift may have been the use of the expression *metuere ius* also by Juvenal (14,101), which was probably shaped on the pre-existing *leges metuere* (Ovid, *trist.* 5,7,47; Cicero, *post reditum in senatu* 4, *de inventione rhetorica* 2,160) and perhaps influenced by similar constructions in Hebrew, as the word order (the Semitic VO) may imply: *metuere sabbata*, *metuere ius* (Rosén 1995: 27–28). In these instances in Juvenal, the use of a Semitic-sounding construction may have been a way to characterize Jews. Petronius might have taken it a step farther and used a typically Semitic expression to add exotic and oriental flavor to the speech of his freedmen, as in his usage of *seruus tuus* instead of simply *ego* (41,3). This usage is common in the Bible; e.g., *gen.* 44,18: *oro domine mi loquatur seruus tuus uerbum in auribus tuis* ‘I beg, my lord, may your servant [= I] speak to you privately (lit. ‘speak a word in your ears’)’, corresponding to the Hebrew ‘if I may, my lord, let your servant have a word privately with my lord (lit. ‘say a word in your ears’)’ (Hebrew *bî ⊃ădonî yĕdabbær-nā⊃ ⊂abdĕkā dābār bĕ⊃oznê ⊃ădonî*).[9] Nonetheless, in order to find true syntactic Semiticisms in Latin one has to turn to the realm of “translationese”, to the translation of the Bible into Latin. The “translationese” of the Vulgate decisively influenced the syntax and style

9. In transliterations from Hebrew here, no attempt is made to mark the so-called *begadkefat* (i.e., the fricativized or spirantized realization of stops in certain contexts). In Ancient Hebrew, vocalic length was phonologically secondary and was a by-product of each specific vocalic articulation. Nevertheless, a rather traditional convention will be followed for the most part. Notice, however, the use of *æ* for *sĕgôl* (an open *e*, [ɛ], [œ] or [æ]) and that both *qāmæṣ ḥāṭûp* (‘the “snatched” *qāmæṣ*’, an open *o*, [ɔ] or [ʌ]) and *ḥôlæm* (probably both a close and an open *o*) can be both transliterated with *o*, unless there is evidence that a specific *ḥôlæm* marks *ō* (such as alternation with plene spellings). Moreover, *ṣerê* (almost always a close *e*) is rendered as *e*.

of many Christian authors, as well as the Latin spoken in ecclesiastical and learned circles, from Late Antiquity to the end of the Middle Ages.

1.2 *Vetus Latina* and *Vulgata*

The translation of the Bible into Latin, usually associated with St. Jerome and known as the *Vulgata* or *Vulgate* (*Vulg.*), was only one among several translations of the Bible in antiquity.[10] As seen above, functional knowledge of Ancient Hebrew became progressively less common in the Hellenistic and Roman periods. Jews throughout the Mediterranean used the Greek translation known as the LXX, *Septuaginta*, or *Septuaginte*, named after the legend that attributes it to 72 translators, six for each of the twelve tribes of Israel. The LXX version of the Pentateuch was made in Alexandria, probably during the middle of the third century BCE, although other biblical books were translated later on, and some eventually outside Egypt, especially in Palestine.[11] Other Jewish translators revised the LXX or did their own translations, especially Aquila, Theodotion, and Symmachus ("the Three"), who lived in the second century CE and whose versions have survived only fragmentarily.[12] In less Hellenized Jewish communities, the Hebrew Bible was translated into Aramaic. The origin of these *Targumim* (singular *Targum*) was oral: a simultaneous translation of the Hebrew text in the synagogue by an interpreter, who frequently glossed and amplified the original (cf. Arabic *tarjumān* 'translator', from which English *dragoman* ultimately derives).[13] The distribution of the use of the LXX and *Targumim* reflects the dichotomy between Greek-

10. On the ancient translations of the Hebrew Bible in general, see Trebolle Barrera (1998).
11. On the LXX, see Swete (1914) and Tov (1999).
12. Aquila was a Jewish proselyte from Pontus, who produced a revised, very literal Greek translation based on the LXX about 140 CE. Symmachus was an Ebionite according to Eusebius and Jerome, but a Samaritan converted to Judaism according to Epiphanius, who completed his revised Greek version about 170 CE. Theodotion was a Jewish proselyte from Ephesus according to Ireneus and Epiphanius. See Trebolle Barrera (1998: 312–318).
13. Beattie and McNamara (1994), Trebolle Barrera (1998: 324–332).

speaking Hellenized Jews (Ἑλληνισταί) and Aramaic-speaking traditional Jews (Ἑβραῖοι).[14]

Greek-speaking Christians felt the need to produce revised versions, specific recensions, or simply editions of the LXX text. There are three Christian editors or revisers who played a crucial role in the textual history of the Greek Bible: Hesychius († 311), Lucian († 311–312), and Origen. By 245, the latter Church Father had completed a massive work known as *Hexapla*, which arranged a series of texts and translations of the Old Testament in parallel columns: (1) the Hebrew text in Hebrew characters; (2) the Hebrew text transliterated into Greek characters; (3) the version by Aquila; (4) that by Symmachus; (5) the LXX; and (6) Theodotion's version. Only fragments of some of these columns of Origen's *Hexapla* are preserved. Among eastern Christians and besides the use of the LXX along with the Greek New Testament, a translation of both Testaments into Syriac (an Aramaic dialect), the *Pešiṭta*, was commonly used in Syria and Asia Minor, and is still the canonic scripture for Nestorian, Jacobite, and Maronite Christians in the Middle East.[15]

In the Western Mediterranean, an Old Latin translation of the Christian Bible (the *Vetus Latina* or Old Latin, *Vet. Lat.*) was probably available in the second century CE. Tertullian (*ca.* 160–220 CE) and other early Christian authors quoted from a Latin text that predates Jerome and the *Vulgate* by a couple of centuries. This version of the *Vetus Latina* is known as *Africana* and was already circulating in Carthage before 250 CE. Moreover, different European recensions circulated in Italy (*Itala*), Spain (*Hispana*), and Gaul, all of them seemingly depending on their African archetype. The *Vetus Latina*, preserved in both manuscripts and quotations from Church Fathers, is particularly important for textual criticism. It frequently bears witness to the earliest strata of Greek translations, as well as some specific Hebrew readings, the latter probably stemming from its North African origin.[16] Moreover, the *Vetus Latina* reflects the vernacular Latin spoken by the different communities that used it, and not any kind of literary language. It abounds in Greek

14. On this cultural divide, see Momigliano (1970).
15. On the Greek Christian recensions of the Old Testament, see Trebolle Barrera (1998: 309–312). On the *Pešiṭta*, see Weitzman (1999).
16. Trebolle Barrera (1998: 353), Tov (2001: 139).

loanwords and calques, exhibits so-called vulgar and Late Latin terms (*manducare* for *comedere* in *Os.* 9,3), Aramaic loanwords (*mammona* 'money' in *Matth.* 6,24), and syntactic constructions that deviate from Classical standards (*magis bonus* in *sap.* 8,20).[17]

The Latin Church Fathers and Jerome himself used the term *uulgata* (κοινή) to refer to the Greek translations of the Bible as well as to its translation into Latin. Nevertheless, *uulgata* ended up designating exclusively the Latin translation associated with Jerome, at least since its restrictive usage by sixteenth-century Humanists. What we know as the *Vulgata* is not exclusively the work of Jerome, but it does generally embody the Hieronymian ideal of *ueritas hebraica* (as opposed to the LXX). Jerome's own translation covers the bulk of the Old Testament, including deuterocanonical books such as Judith, Tobit, and the additions to Esther and Daniel. In the case of the Psalms, Jerome first produced a Latin translation from the Greek, which was evenutally lost and, therefore, is not the Roman Psalter used in Medieval Italy and even the Vatican until recently. Then he revised the Psalter of the *Vetus Latina* in the light of Origen's Greek Hexaplar columns (*Psalterium Gallicanum* or *Psalmi iuxta Septuaginta emendati*), and later on he produced another translation from the Hebrew original (*Psalterium iuxta Hebraicum translati* or *Psalmi iuxta Hebraeos*).[18] In the case of the Gospels, Jerome simply revised the pre-existing Latin translation, and the rest of the New Testament was probably revised by Rufinus the Syrian and the Pelagians living in Rome.[19] A few deuterocanonical books of the Old Testament (Sirach or Ecclesiasticus, Wisdom of Solomon, 1 and 2 Maccabees, Baruch, and the Epistle

17. On the possibility that *mammona* was a Punic loanword, see Mastin (1984).
18. The present contribution cites both Psalters (*iuxta Septuaginta* and *iuxta Hebraicum*) for Semiticisms. Even when translating only from the Greek Hexaplar versions, Jerome was adopting and adapting the Semiticisms contained in these Greek translations. Moreover, Jerome most certainly looked at Greek versions of the Bible as sources of translation strategies for his own enterprise, even when he was working directly with the Hebrew and Aramaic originals (see González-Luis 1983; Trebolle Barrera 1998: 353–357). Thus, for our purposes, there is no sharp difference between dealing with either version of the Psalter, as both exhibit (either direct or indirect) Semiticisms. In fact, in many instances, the Greek-grounded version of the Psalms may have a stronger Semitic flavor than the Hebrew-based one (see below, Section 3.2).
19. See, for instance, Hammond Bammel (1985 *pace* Bell 1977).

of Jeremiah) were never translated or even revised by Jerome; for these books, the *Vulgata* manuscripts usually reproduce rather corrupted recensions of the *Vetus Latina*. Furthermore, from the sixteenth century on, all editions of the Latin translation of the Bible bearing the title *Vulgata* actually represent a more or less thoroughly revised version of the older Hieronymian *Vulgata*: e.g., the Vulgates edited by Robert Estienne, who produced several editions during the first half of the sixteenth century and introduced the numbering of verses as we know it today (1553, 1555); the new *Vulgata* triggered by the Council of Trent, published by Sixtus V (1590), and revised under Clement VIII (1592), which is known as the *Sixto-Clementina*; and the Neo-Vulgate started under Paul VI (1965) and finished under John Paul II (1979).[20]

In dealing with the *Vulgata*, it is important, albeit difficult, to distinguish between instances of direct Semitic influence and indirect influence stemming from the Greek of the LXX and the New Testament. In the case of the New Testament, both the *Vetus Latina* and the *Vulgata* exhibit a number of Semiticisms, the clearest of which belong to the realm of phraseology. Some of them depend on Semiticized idioms present already in the LXX, but many stem from the Aramaic substratum that can be detected throughout the New Testament.[21] The modern scholarly approach to the language of the LXX and the New Testament is sharply divided between Hellenists on the one hand, who regard it simply as Hellenistic *koiné* from different regions (Egyptian *koiné* for the Pentateuch in the LXX, Syro-Palestinian *koiné* for the New Testament), and Hebraists and Semitists on the other, who stress the presence of Semitic calques and idioms. Many alleged Semiticisms in the New Testament and in the LXX have parallels in inscriptions and documents written in the

20. On the *Vet. Lat.* and the *Vulg.* in general, see Berger (1893), Meershoek (1966: 4–30), Frede (1971), Haffter (1981), Gribomont (1985), Fischer (1986), Stramare (1987), Bogaert (1988), Duval (1988), Trebolle Barrera (1998: 349–358). On translation techniques in the *Vulg.*, see especially Meershoek (1966), Kedar-Kopfstein (1968), and Mazzini (1976).

21. On the Aramaic substratum of the New Testament, see Moule (1959), Black (1967), Beyer (1968), Fitzmyer (1971, 1979), Díez Merino (1998), Burton (2000: 121–123). On the Semitic linguistic background of the LXX and the New Testament in general, see Tabachovitz (1956), Rosén (1979).

Hellenistic *koiné*.[22] The problem lies in what one understands by "Semitic influence" and "Aramaic substratum". In its phraseology and in the consistency and frequency of specific syntactic choices, the language of the LXX is that of a Greek *koiné* shaped through the prism of translationese, and it wears its Hebrew and Aramaic undergarments rather uneasily at times. In the case of the New Testament, it is true that some sections (such as the Gospel of Luke) seem very close to any other *koiné* text from the same period. However, the language of many of the oral traditions that constitute the background of the Gospels, as well as the native tongue of most of their final compilers and writers, was Aramaic. This substratum and adstratum influence surfaces in lexicon, syntax, and style, in spite of the otherwise *koiné* nature of these compositions. It is illustrative to point out that, while most Hellenists traditionally believe that the language of the New Testament was the "popular speech" of the *koiné* (πεζὸς λόγος, *uernaculus sermo*), New Testament Greek shows a strong kinship with the language of Greek technical works since the first century BCE (Rydbeck 1967). Thus, the writtenness of the Greek of the LXX and the New Testament – as we know them, independently of their redactional prehistory – should be stressed (Janse 2002: 342). This fits quite properly the translationese model and explains the specific nature of the syntactic calques made and stylistic options chosen by the translators, many of which cannot be satisfactorily explained without resorting to the Hebrew or Aramaic original. For instance, the famous Lucan Christmas greeting (*Luc.* 2,14: *et in terra pax in hominibus bonae uoluntatis*) is a literal rendering of the Greek original (καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς εἰρήνη ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκίας), which presents an interpretative problem: whose *bona uoluntas* (εὐδοκία) is this, man's or God's? A couple of parallels from the Dead Sea Scrolls – both in Hebrew (*bĕnê rĕṣônô* 'sons of his good pleasure') and Aramaic (*bʾnwš rʿwth* 'among men of his good will') – make it clear that this is *dei bona uoluntas* (Fitzmyer 1971: 101–104). Likewise, the famous expression *filius hominis* (υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου / ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου), which ultimately quotes an Aramaic passage from the book of Daniel (*Dan.* 7,13: *bar ʾĕnāš* 'son of man'), has parallels in contem-

22. See Deissman (1895, 1897, 1923), Thumb (1901), Moulton et al. (1908–1976) (especially Moulton's "Prolegomena" [Moulton 1908]), Thackeray (1909), Swete (1914), Blass and Debrunner (1954), Zgusta (1980: 126–127).

porary Aramaic, as well as in Biblical and Rabbinical Hebrew, although none of these parallels is sufficient to settle the debate about the actual meaning of *filius hominis*.[23]

2. The nature of Semitic features in Latin syntax

There is an inherent difficulty in determining that a specific feature is necessarily a Semiticism when such a feature is attested in Classical Latin as well. It is worthwhile to establish a distinction between quantitative and qualitative Semiticisms (García de la Fuente 1994a: 171): the latter are exclusive to Biblical and Christian Latin, whereas the former have precedents in the Classical language.[24]

Quantitative Semiticisms are particularly challenging. Phenomena that are attested in some periods of the history of Latin became much more frequent in Biblical Latin due to Semitic influence (such as the absence of a copulative verb in statements and gnomic expressions: *prov.* 11,20, 30; 12,15, etc.). In these cases, one can argue that Semitic influence played a decisive role in the increase of occurrences of such phenomena. These quantitative Semiticisms are attested in Christian Latin with a frequency significantly higher than in Classical Latin. The mere fact that the constructions in question – as rare as they might have been – are attested in earlier and Classical Latin may point to the first symptoms of an internal tendency, which developed and spread through time. Moreover, such prior attestations might simply prove that Latin – at least in terms of *langue* or a speaker's hypothetical competence – was capable of accepting the construction in question, even if this was very rare. In this respect, it is not always easy, or even possible, to determine the actual extent and importance of Semitic influence on what may have

23. See Vermes *apud* Black (1967: 310–330), Fitzmyer (1979: 143–160).
24. In this, as in many other aspects, this overview is indebted to the work of the late García de la Fuente (see especially García de la Fuente 1994a). The use of the term "Christian Latin" here does not intend to suggest the existence of a Christian *Sondersprache* (see Burton 2000: 153–154). The label simply refers to – for the most part – the biblically-grounded features of the Latin of the Church Fathers and the early Church (*pace* García de la Fuente 1994a: 35–40).

already been an internal tendency in some (diatopic and diastratic) variants of Latin.

3. Nominal syntax

3.1 *Nominativus pendens* and *casus pendens*

The *nominativus pendens*, as well as the more general phenomenon of *casus pendens*, is simply a mechanism to topicalize a sentence constituent. A clear distinction should be drawn between *nominativus pendens* and *nominativus absolutus*. *Nominativus pendens* occurs in a construction in which a noun or a pronoun in the nominative case fulfills no syntactical function in the sentence; e.g., Cato, *agr.* 34,2: *ager rubricosus et terra pulla, materina, rudecta, harenosa, item quae aquosa non erit, ibi lupinum bonum fiet*. Thus, a *nominativus pendens* is a sort of anacoluthon that generally topicalizes an element of the sentence by placing it outside the structure of the sentence itself; it could thus be called an "emphatic nominative" (*der isoliert-emphatische Nominativ*, see Hofmann & Szantyr 1965: 29–30) or "unconstrued nominative" (*der unkonstruierte Nominativ*, see Hofmann & Szantyr 1965: 731).[25]

On the other hand, the *nominativus absolutus* involves a construction reminiscent of the *ablativus absolutus*: usually at least two words – a logical subject and a modifier, frequently a participle – that fulfill the syntactic function of an adverbial clause but whose link with the main clause is not syntactic but logical (Hofmann & Szantyr 1965: 143–144). As in the case of the *nominativus pendens*, an anacoluthon lies at the origin of this construction; e.g., *Bell. Afr.* 25,1: *rex Iuba cognitis Caesaris difficultatibus copiarumque paucitate non est uisum dari spatium*. Whereas the *nominativus pendens* is already attested in Early Latin and occurs throughout all periods of the language, the *nominativus absolutus* is much more common in Late Latin (Löfstedt 1911: 158–159).

25. Some instances of "unconstrued nominative" in Latin inscriptions from Egypt may be due to the influence of specific Greek formulaic structure; see Adams (2003: 81–82, 598, 627).

In Biblical Hebrew – a language whose morphology lacks nominal case markers – the equivalent of the *nominativus pendens* is quite common.[26] In Hebrew, however, the logical relation between the *nominativus pendens* and the sentence is actually marked by a syntactic element: a pleonastic pronoun in the case in which the *nominativus pendens* should appear if the latter were syntactically integrated in the sentence. This Hebrew construction is translated literally into Latin: *psalm.* 11,4 [=*Vulg. psalm.* 10,5]: *Dominus in caelo thronus eius, oculi eius uident* 'the Lord – his throne is in heaven – his eyes watch'.[27] In Classical and Late Latin, there are some examples of a similar construction: Petron. 57,8: *ecce magister tuus, homo maior natus: placemus illi*. However, in Biblical Latin the construction with a resumptive pronoun is the standard one (see Section 4 below). Thus, the *nominativus pendens* in Biblical Latin is rather different from its relatively widespread equivalent in Classical and Late Latin because of the systematic presence of the resumptive pleonastic pronoun in the former. Furthermore, in Biblical Latin any syntactic argument can undergo a similar process of topicalization (*casus pendens*). A *casus pendens* is simply a case of dislocation of word order, which is unambigously marked with a pleonastic pronoun; e.g., *Sirach* 34,17: *timentis Dominum beata est anima eius*. In Biblical Latin, the occurrence of both *nominativus pendens* and *casus pendens* – the former being a subclass of the latter – with resumptive pronouns, is clearly a matter of Semitic influence.

3.2 Absence of indeterminate subjects

In Classical Latin, an indeterminate (i.e. non-referential) subject can be omitted only when there is a plural subject with certain active verbs (*dicunt* 'they say') and a singular subject with a passive verb (*uidetur* 'it seems fine'),

26. When applied to Hebrew and Aramaic, the labels *casus pendens* and *nominativus pendens* are actually misnomers, since these two languages lack morphological case. Nonetheless, in keeping with the analogy, these labels are employed here for the corresponding syntactic functions in Hebrew and Aramaic, rather than for the cases themselves.
27. See Kaulen (1904: 277, 286), García de la Fuente (1994a: 173–174, 299).

the latter including unexpected "passives" of intransitive verbs (*iri* ← *ire*).[28] However, in Biblical Latin, an indeterminate subject may be omitted even with an active verbal form in the 3rd person singular: *psalm.* 87,5 [=*Vulg. psalm.* 86,5]: *numquid Sion* [dat.] *dicet: homo et homo natus est in ea*, which in Classical Latin would have required *dicetur*.[29] Nevertheless, sometimes the Latin Bible (as well as the LXX) reflects the presence of a redundant pronoun in the Hebrew original and, therefore, a subject is doubly stated for no apparent reason other than emphasis: *psalm.* 24,10 [*Vulg. psalm.* 23,10]: *Dominus uirtutum ipse est rex gloriae*.[30]

3.3 Concretized abstracts, countable uncountables, and singulars of Classical *pluralia tantum*

In Biblical Latin, abstract nouns, both in singular and in plural, can be used as concrete terms: *hereditas* 'heirs' (*deut*. 9,26), *sanctificatio* 'sanctuary' (*num.* 6,12 *et passim*), and so forth (Kaulen 1904: 34–35). In Classical Latin, there are numerous instances of singular nouns used as collectives, but these are not abstract but concrete nouns: Varro *rust*. 1,2,2: *Romanus sedendo uincit*.[31] Likewise, many uncountable nouns, both abstract and concrete, acquired plurals in Biblical Latin, which they lacked in Classical texts. In general, these new plurals are mere calques of the original Hebrew: *benedictiones* ← *bĕrākôt*; *generationes* ← *tôledôt*; *magiae* ← *kĕšāpîm*; etc.[32] However, there

28. See Hofmann & Szantyr (1965: 412, 416–419), Pinkster (1992). An impersonal passive exhibits passive morphology with a logical subject usually in an oblique case (dative in Latin): Cic., *Tusc.* 1,103,8: *ut tibi uidebitur, sepelito*. Moreover, passive forms from intransitive verbs are not crosslinguistically uncommon; e.g., Eng. *John is gone*, Ger. *Gestern wurde getanzt*. The impersonal passive with certain Latin intransitive verbs is equally common: Cic. *Verr.* II. 4,96,6: *fanum eius est in agro, propter ipsam uiam qua Assoro itur Hennam*.

29. In fact, the passage cited above comes from the *Vg. Psalmi iuxta LXX*. In the *Vulgata* too, in the *Psalmi iuxta Hebraicum* it is rendered as: *ad Sion autem dicetur: uir et uir natus est in ea*.

30. See Kaulen (1904: 286–288), García de la Fuente (1981a: 323–324, 1994a: 171–172).

31. See Hofmann & Szantyr (1965: 13–14, 749–750), García de la Fuente (1994a: 174–175).

32. See Rönsch (1875: 273–274), Kaulen (1904: 126–127), García de la Fuente (1994a: 175).

are some plurals of uncountable nouns that are not simple calques and appear only in Biblical Latin (some only in the *Vet. Lat.*, but many in the *Vulg.*): *carnes* (*lev.* 4,11); *sanguines* (II *reg*. 16,7; *Ezech.* 9,9 *et passim*); *sanitates* (*Is.* 58,8, *Vet. Lat.*); etc. Furthermore, in Biblical Latin one can find singulars of nouns that occur as *pluralia tantum* in the Classical corpus: *inferus*, *primitia*, *tenebra*, *sertum*, etc.

3.4 The genitive in Biblical Latin

The adjectival use of the genitive, *genitivus qualitatis*, and its construction with possessive pronouns is widespread in Biblical Latin, probably due to the relative paucity of adjectives in Hebrew and Aramaic: *opera impietatis*, *Dominus gloriae*, *uox uirtutis*, *uirga irae suae*, *urbs fortitudinis nostrae*, etc. The role played by the Biblical text in the spread of this construction – with and without an adjective or pronoun modifying the genitive – has been debated, but it seems safe to say this is a Semiticism in post-Classical and Christian Latin.[33] On the other hand, the semantically inverted genitive (i.e., *hypallage adiectivi* or *enallage adiectivi*) is merely a quantitative Semiticism (García de la Fuente 1994a: 178–179). Although it became much more abundant in Biblical and Christian Latin (*abundantia gratiae*, *multitudo maris sonantis*), it is already present in Classical Latin: Cic. *Att.* 8,12,5: *tristitiam illorum temporum non subissem*.[34]

The genitival constructions with *filius*, *homo*, and *uir* and a noun in the genitive are attested in Greek and Latin; e.g., *fortunae filius* in Cic. *Att.* 1,13,4; Hor. *sat.* 2,6,49; Petron. 43,7. However, they became immensely more common in Biblical and Christian Latin, in which they were employed in constructions for which Classical Latin would have used simple adjectives: *filii stultorum*, *filii fortitudinis*, *filius dilectionis suae*, *homo iniquitatis*, *homo pacis meae*, *uir belli*, *uir sanguinum*, *uiri pacis tuae*, *uiri foederis tui*, and

33. Hofmann & Szantyr (1965: 70), Ernout and Thomas (1964: 44), García de la Fuente (1983a, 1994a: 176–178).
34. On *hypallage adiectivi* or *enallage adiectivi*, see Hofmann & Szantyr (1965: 159–160), Lausberg (1998: 306), Burkhardt (1971).

so forth. There is a specific construction with *filius* that is strictly a qualitative Semiticism with no Classical precedent: *filius* with a concrete noun in genitive; e.g., I *reg.* 13,1: *filius unius anni erat Saul.*[35]

3.5 Distributive constructions

In Biblical Latin, distributive constructions can consist of repeated nouns, numerals, or adverbs: *gens et gens* (IV *reg.* 17,29) 'each people'; *psalm.* 49,11 [=*Vulg. psalm.* 48,12]: *in generatione et generatione* 'each generation'; *Is.* 27,12: *unus et unus* 'one by one'; *Soph.* 3,5: *mane mane iudicium suum dabit* 'each morning (morning by morning ← Hebrew *babbōqær babbōqær* lit. 'in the morning, in the morning') he gives judgment', etc. This phenomenon should be clearly distinguished from those of intensive and emphatic repetitions in Classical Latin (Hofmann & Szantyr 1965: 808–810). It has been argued that these distributive constructions originated in the popular vernacular (Hofmann & Szantyr 1965: 197). However, the chronology and textual frequency of these repetitions seem to point to a typically Semitic syntactic mechanism to mark distribution, which spread from the Greek Bible (the LXX and New Testament) to early Greek Christian literature and then to Biblical and Christian Latin.[36]

3.6 Adjectival constructions

Whereas Classical Latin had basically two comparative constructions (*melior Caesare* and *melior quam Caesar*), Biblical Latin exhibits many. In Hebrew, as in all Semitic languages, adjectives have no comparative morphological endings (like Latin *-ior*/*-ius*). The comparative construction in Biblical Hebrew employs the preposition *min*, which has a wide variety of meanings and

35. Plater and White (1926: 19–20), Süss (1932: 51), García de la Fuente (1994a: 179–181), Piras (1994).
36. Löfstedt (1911: 84–85), Plater and White (1926: 26–27), Hofmann & Szantyr (1965: 809), Rapallo (1971: 12), Hilhorst (1976: 115), García de la Fuente (1986a, 1994a: 182–186).

usages ('from, since, after, of, on account of, in relation to') and is partly assimilated to pronominal suffixes (Waltke and O'Connor 1990: 214, 263–267):

(1) *deut.* 11,23: *gôyim gĕdolîm wa*$^{\subset}$*ăṣumîm mikkæm*
NATIONS GREAT AND POWERFUL 'FROM' (*min*) YOU (*-kæm*)
'nations greater and more powerful than you'

Thus, together with the two Classical constructions, some of the ways in which Biblical Latin can express the comparative are as follows:

- *quam* following a positive adjective: *candidi dentes eius quam lac* (*gen.* 49,12 *Vet. Lat.*);
- *plus quam* or *magis quam* following a positive adjective, constructions already present in early and Classical Latin (Hofmann & Szantyr 1965: 166–167);
- constructions like *melior Caesare*, but with genitive or dative instead of ablative – a tendency already observed in popular or colloquial Latin, especially in the case of the genitive, which became more common in Biblical Latin probably due to Greek influence (Hofmann & Szantyr 1965: 112–114);
- *ab*, *super*, or *prae* preceded by either a positive or a comparative adjective: *gen.* 7,20: *altior fuit aqua super montes*; II *reg.* 1,26 *Vulg.*: *amabilis super amorem mulierum*; *Is.* 56,5: *dabo eis … nomen melius a filiis et filiabus*; *Ezech.* 6,14 : *faciam terram desolatam et destitutam a deserto Deblatha*;
- *supra*, *e*/*ex*, or *inter* preceded by a positive adjective, which constitutes an ambiguous construction since it can mark both comparative and superlative: *deut.* 7,14: *benedictus eris inter omnes populos*.

Some of these constructions are clearly due to Hebrew influence.[37] In the case of *a*/*ab* (as in *psalm.* 8,5 [=*Vulg*. *psalm.* 8,6]: *minus ab angelis*), one can find similar examples already in Ovid (*epist.* 16,98: *nec Priamo est a te dignior ulla nurus*; 18,69: *a Veneris facie non est prior ulla tuaque*) and Pliny (*nat.* 18,126: *quando alius usus praestantior ab iis non est*); this would point merely to a quantitative Semiticism. However, the comparative construction with *a*/*ab* has a properly Semitic origin when used with the positive: *psalm.*

37. Rönsch (1875: 452), Hofmann & Szantyr (1965: 11, 112), García de la Fuente (1976a, 1977, 1994a: 186–187, 228–229).

76,4 [=*Vulg. psalm.* 75,5]: *illuminans tu mirabiliter a montibus aeternis*.[38] It is possible that this calquing of Latin prepositions may have come hand-in-hand with the weakening of the more specific syntactic functions previously fulfilled by some prepositions, especially *ab*, *ex*, and *de* (cf. García de la Fuente 1978c).

As in the case of the comparative, Hebrew lacks morphological means to mark the superlative . Instead, this is marked through syntax (Waltke and O'Connor 1990: 267–271). The absolute superlative is usually expressed with a genitival construction consisting of a substantive followed by the same anarthrous substantive or a cognate in plural: *eccles.* 1,2: *hăbel hăbālîm* 'futility of futilities' → 'utmost futility' (*uanitas uanitatum* / ματαιότης ματαιοτήτων).[39] The relative and absolute superlative in Hebrew can be marked in different ways:

– simply with the definite article: I *reg.* 18,17: *bittî haggĕdôlāh* DAUGHTER-MY THE-BIG 'my oldest daughter' → *filia mea maior*;
– with the preposition *bĕ* ('in, at, among') and the definitive article: *cant.* 1,8; 5,9: *hayyāpāh bannāšîm* THE-FAIR AMONG-THE-WOMEN 'the fairest among women' – *pulchra inter mulieres* / *pulcherrima mulierum*;
– with a genitival construction in which the *rectum* has the definite article: *exod.* 26,33: *qōdæš haqqŏdāšîm* HOLY-OF THE-HOLIES 'the holiest place' – *sancta sanctorum*;
– with the expression *mikkol* (*min* + *kol* 'from all, out of all'): *gen.* 3,1: *wĕhannāḥāš hāyāh* ʿ*ārûm mikkol ḥayyat haśśādæh* AND-THE-SNAKE WAS CUNNING FROM-ALL BEASTS-OF THE-FIELD 'and the snake was the most cunning of all the beasts' → *sed et serpens erat callidior cunctis animantibus terrae* (Hebrew *ḥayyāh* is a collective noun, 'beasts, wild animals').

In the light of these Hebrew constructions, one can explain how Biblical and Christian Latin exhibit syntactical ways of marking the superlative that were

38. Hofmann & Szantyr (1965: 111–112), García de la Fuente (1994a: 228–229).

39. In Biblical Hebrew, a genitival construction consists of a substantive in the construct state (*regens* or modified) followed by another substantive (*rectum* or modifier). The construct state corresponds to a different morphological shape of the word, which undergoes phonological changes due to the stress shift in the sequence: *dābār* ('word') → *dĕbar* ʾ*ĕlohîm* 'word of God'; *dĕbārîm* ('words') → *dibrê* ʾ*ĕlohîm* 'words of God'. One might say that a genitival sequence in Hebrew somehow constitutes a quasi-compound.

not attested in Classical Latin:[40]

– a positive adjective instead of the superlative, frequently followed by preposition: *lev.* 21,10 *Vet. Lat.*: *magnus e fratibus*; *Ier.* 50,36: *fortes de filiis*;
– the genitive superlative (*vanitas vanitatum*);
– the usages with *nimis*, *ualde*, *uehementer*, and *satis*; these adverbs can occur also in Late Latin in similar constructions, but the word order (adjective + adverb: *fortis nimis*, *bona ualde*, *sicca uehementer*, *boni satis*) is the opposite of that in Classical Latin (adverb + adjective).

4. Pronouns and demonstratives

As seen above (Section 3.1), Biblical Latin abounds in pleonastic pronouns which are sometimes merely emphatic but which frequently act as resumptive pronouns.[41] Although there are examples of pleonastic pronouns in relative clauses in Classical Latin (Hofmann & Szantyr 1965: 556–557), in the *Vet. Lat.* and the *Vulgata* this is infinitely more common, to the point of being standard. The phenomenon of *pronomen abundans* has its roots in the fact that the Hebrew relative pronoun (*ᵓăšær*) is, in synchronic terms, an indeclinable particle. Thus, the syntactical function of *ᵓăšær* – especially when it is not the subject of the subordinate verb – is frequently marked with a resumptive (independent or suffixed) pronoun within the relative clause (Waltke and O'Connor 1990: 330–340): *gôy ᵓăšær lōᵓ-tišmaᶜ lĕšōnô* (*deut.* 28,49) NATION WHICH NO-YOU-WILL-UNDERSTAND LANGUAGE-ITS 'a nation whose language you will not understand' (lit. 'a nation which language of it you will not understand'). This phenomenon of translationese impregnates the relative sentences in Biblical Latin, even when the Latin relative pronoun appears in

40. Hofmann & Szantyr (1965: 55), García de la Fuente (1978a, 1994a: 187–189), Macías Villalobos (1991a).

41. On *pronomen abundans* in Greek (from Ancient to Modern), see Bakker (1974). In non-Biblical Greek, there are a few examples of this pleonastic pronoun, all of which occur in non-restrictive ("non-essential") relative clauses. However, in Biblical Greek there are instances of pleonastic pronouns in restrictive ("essential") relative clauses. Thus, Bakker (1974: 36) argues that the *pronomen abundans* in restrictive clauses is a Semiticism in the LXX and the New Testament. See also Thackeray (1909: 46), Swete (1914: 307–308), Moulton and Turner (1963: 325), Janse (2002: 361–364).

the correct case: *psalm.* 19,3 [=*Vulg. psalm.* 18,4]: *sermones quorum non audiantur uoces eorum*; *psalm.* 40,4 [=*Vulg. psalm.* 39,5]: *beatus uir cuius est nomen Domini spes eius*; *lev.* 23, *Vet. Lat.*: *et fuerit delictum in quo deliquit in eo*.

There is a phenomenon that occurs in the *Vetus Latina*, but not properly in the *Vulgata*: the article-like use of demonstratives. In the *Vet. Lat.*, the three-fold deictic system of Classical Latin (*hic*, *iste*, *ille*) seems reduced to a two-fold system: proximity marked with *hic* and *iste*, the latter being more frequent; distance marked with *ille*. The demonstrative *ille* is frequently used to translate the Greek determinate article and in general tends to fulfill the determinate function that its cognates have in Romance languages (Abel 1971). This use of *ille* and other demonstratives ultimately stems from the determinate article in Hebrew (García de la Fuente 1994a: 191).

In Biblical Latin, a demonstrative can occur in the feminine gender instead of the expected neuter: *psalm.* 27,4 [= *Vulg. psalm.* 26,4]: *unam petii a Domino hanc requiram*; *psalm.* 119,50 [= *Vulg. psalm.* 118,50]: *haec me consolata est*. Since Hebrew does not have a neuter gender and the feminine fulfills most of the functions covered by the Latin neuter (such as deriving abstract nouns), this is quite clearly a Semiticism.[42] Another obvious Semiticism can be found in the use of certain nouns (*anima*, *facies*, *oculus*, and *uultus*) instead of personal and reflexive pronouns: *Is.* 26,9: *anima mea* [sc. *ego*] *desiderauit te in nocte*; *Sirach* 4,26: *ne accipias faciem aduersus faciem tuam* [sc. *tibi*]; *Ier.* 18,4: *sicut placuerat in oculis eius* [sc. *ei*]; I *reg.* 1,18: *uultusque illius* [sc. *illa*] *non sunt amplius in diuersa mutati*. These are all transparent Semiticisms: *anima* corresponds to Hebrew *næpæš* ('throat, breath, life, soul'), which can simply mean 'person' and be used instead of a personal pronoun; *facies* and *uultus* translate Hebrew *pānîm* ('face', usually in plural), which in many expressions is equivalent to 'self' (*panæykā* FACE-YOUR 'yourself'); and *oculus* corresponds to Hebrew ᶜ*ayin* ('eyes', a dual noun), which occurs in expressions such as *lĕᶜênê* ('before the eyes of, in the

42. Rönsch (1875: 452), Kaulen (1904: 171), García de la Fuente (1994a: 192).

presence of'), *bĕ⊂ênê* ('in the eyes of, in the judgment of'), and *mĕ⊂ênê* ('far from the eyes of, unbeknown to').[43]

The locutions *non omnis* and *omnis non* occur instead of negative indefinite pronouns (*nemo*, *nullus*, *nihil*): *exod.* 12,20: *omne fermentatum non comedetis*. Similar expressions occur with *uniuersus* and *cunctus*: *Ier.* 12,12: *non est pax uniuersae carni*. This has no precedent in Classical Latin, since apparent instances of this usage, such as Horace, *carm.* 3,3,6: *non omnis moriar*, are semantically quite different – Horace does not say that nothing in him will die, but that he will not die completely, that part of him will avoid death (*carm.*, 3,30,6–7: *multaque pars mei uitabit Libitinam*). Such Biblical constructions have to be regarded as qualitative Semiticisms, literal calques of Hebrew expressions.[44] Likewise, several nouns and adjectives (*omnis*, *homo*, *uir*, *anima*, *sermo*, *uerbum*, *unus*, *frater*, *proximus*, *amicus*, etc.) are attested instead of indefinite pronouns (*unusquisque, quisquis*, *quicumque*, *aliquis*, *quisquam*, *ullus*, *aliquid*, *quidquam*, etc.) both in affirmative and in negative constructions. In general, these expressions stem from the Hebrew usage: *homo* and *uir* translate *⊃ādām* ('human being, humankind') and *⊃îš* ('man'); *uerbum* corresponds to *dābār* ('word, thing, matter'); *frater* reflects *⊃āḥ* ('brother, tribesman, companion, relation'); *proximus* and *amicus* render *re⊂a* (masc. 'fellow, companion, friend') and *rĕ⊂ût* (fem.), which are especially common in expressions of reciprocity (*⊃îš ⊃æl-re⊂ehû* MAN TO-FELLOW-HIS 'one to another'; *⊃îš ⊃æt-re⊂ehû* MAN DIROBJ-FELLOW-HIS 'each other'), etc.[45]

5. Adverbs and adverbial constructions

In Biblical Latin, there are instances in which adverbs or adverbial prepositional phrases modify nouns, in expressions that attempt to reflect closely their Hebrew original: *deut.* 8,26: *et uisio uespere et mane quae dicta est uera est* ← *uma⊃ēh hā⊂æræb wĕhabboqær ⊃ăšær næ⊃ĕmar ⊃ĕmĕt*

43. Rapallo (1971: 133–138), García de la Fuente (1978b, 1994a: 192–193).
44. García de la Fuente (1976b, 1984, 1994a: 193–194).
45. Rapallo (1971: 98–100, 109–110, 117–19, 274, 302), García de la Fuente (1984, 1994a: 195–211).

*hû*ᵓ (AND-VISION-OF THE-EVENING AND-THE-MORNING WHICH IT-WAS-SAID TRUTH IT 'and the morning and evening vision which was revealed is true'); *Ier.* 23,23: *Deus e uicino ego sum dicit Dominus et non deus de longe* ← *ha*ᵓ*ælohē miqqārōb* ᵓ*ānî nĕ*ᵓ*um-yhwh wĕlo*ᵓ ᵓ*ælohē merāḥōq* (THE-GOD-OF FROM-NEAR I UTTERANCE-OF-YHWH AND-NO GOD-OF FROM-FAR 'am I God when near, Yahweh says, but not God when far away?'). Similar constructions, in which adverbs modify nouns, are not unknown in Classical Latin, both in poetry and in prose, but they became more frequent in the language of translationese in Late Latin texts (Hofmann & Szantyr 1965: 171).

The Latin of the New Testament exhibits the construction of *habere* with adverbs, which mostly reflects the Greek text: *Matth.* 4,24: *omnes male habentes*; *Marc.* 5,26: *sed magis deterius habebat*. There are analogous expressions in Classical Latin texts of a rather familiar or colloquial style (Cic. *epist.* 9,9,1: *Terentia minus belle habuit*) and more commonly in Late Latin.[46] Moreover, in Biblical Latin, prepositions can occur followed by adverbs (*a longe*; *de repente*; *de sursum*, and so forth). This phenomenon is syntactically connected with the substantivization of adverbs: *gen.* 2,23: *hoc nunc*; *psalm.* 121,8 [= *Vulg. psalm.* 120,8] *et passim: ex hoc nunc*; *psalm.* 93,2 [= *Vulg. psalm.* 92,2]: *ex tunc*. All these constructions represent a more general syntactical trend in Latin, especially in popular registers, as seen above. However, the frequency with which these constructions occur in Biblical and Christian Latin, parallel to their frequency in Late Latin generally, might point to a quantitative Semiticism.[47]

6. Prepositions

The use of *in* with ablative having an instrumental function is directly influenced by the use of the Hebrew preposition *bĕ* as above fulfilling the same role; e.g., *Mich.* 5,1: *in uirga percutient maxillam*; *gen.* 37,31; *tinguere in*

46. See Löfstedt (1911: 147), Hofmann & Szantyr (1965: 171).
47. For more instances of these adverbial structures in Biblical Latin, see Rönsch (1875: 231), Kaulen (1904: 281–282), García de la Fuente (1994a: 224).

sanguine.[48] Since the use of ἐν with instrumental dative already occurs in Homer, it has been argued that this phenomenon is simply due to Greek influence upon the *Vet. Lat.* (Hofmann & Szantyr 1965: 126).[49] Still, others have regarded it simply as an internal development in Latin (Süss 1932: 79–81). However, the fact is that this construction is not limited to the *Vet. Lat.* and is equally common in the *Vulg*. Furthermore, it is much more frequent in Biblical than in Classical Latin. This distribution clearly points to a Semiticism, even if of a somewhat quantitative nature.[50] In fact, one could suggest that, even in Biblical Greek, this instrumental construction is clearly a literal translation from Hebrew, unrelated to earlier instances of instrumental ἐν (Schwyzer and Debrunner 1950: 435, n. 2).[51]

In the Latin Bible, the same preposition, *in*, introduces a predicative with active transitive verbs – both with accusative and, less frequently, with ablative: I *reg.* 25,40: *accipere in uxorem*; *psalm.* 31,2 [= *Vulg. psalm.* 30,3]: *esto mihi in Deum protectorem*; *gen.* 2,24: *et erunt duo in carne una*; *sap.* 10,17: *fuit illis in uelamento diei, et in luce stellarum per noctem*. This predicative construction can occur with *ad* instead of *in*: *I Macc*. 1,38: *et factum est hoc ad insidias sanctificationi*. The marking of the predicative with a preposition – which generates a factitive construction – is an obvious Semiticism.[52] This use of *in* stems from the Hebrew preposition *lĕ*, which can mark both direct (instead of the *nota accusativi ᵓet*) and indirect objects, as well as any sort of argument semantically defined as the goal or purpose of the verbal action (Waltke and O'Connor 1990: 209). On the use of the prepositions *super* and *a*/*ab* in comparative constructions, see Section 3.6 above.

Biblical Latin abounds in prepositional circumlocutions with *facies*, *conspectus*, *manus*, *tergum*, *medium*, *gyrus*, *circuitus*, *auris*, and *oculus*: I *reg.* 2,18: *ante faciem Domini*; *Is.* 21,15: *a facie gladii inminentis*; IV *reg*. 16,14:

48. For the multiple functions of Hebrew *bĕ*, see Waltke and O'Connor (1990: 196–199).
49. For Greek examples – in which the instrumental use of the dative derives from the latter's secondary locative function – see Radermacher (1901: 100), Schwyzer and Debrunner (1950: 169–170).
50. Rönsch (1875: 396–397), Kaulen (1904: 240), García de la Fuente (1994a: 225–226).
51. On the general tendency to replace an instrumental ablative with prepositional phrases in Latin, especially in the *Vulg.*, see De la Villa Polo (1998).
52. Süss (1932: 82–84), Hofmann & Szantyr (1965: 275), García de la Fuente (1994a: 226–227).

de facie templi; I *reg.* 1,22: *ante conspectum Domini*; *exod.* 10,11: *de conspectu Pharaonis*; *lev.* 15,14: *in conspectu Domini*; I *par.* 18,17: *ad manum regis*; *gen.* 9,5: *de manu cunctarum uestiarum*; *gen.* 32,16: *per manus seruorum suorum*; *gen.* 22,13: *post tergum*; I *reg.* 12,20: *a tergo Domini*; *gen.* 1,4 *Vet. Lat.*: *inter medium tenebrarum*; *exod.* 14,22: *per medium maris sicci*; *gen.* 1,6: *in medio aquarum*; *exod.* 3,2: *de medio rubi*; *exod.* 39,21: *per gyrum capitii*; *thren.* 3,5: *in gyro meo*; *exod.* 7,24: *per circuitum fluminis*; *psalm.* 125,2 [= *Vulg. psalm.* 124,2]: *in circuitu populi sui*; II *reg.* 22,7: *ad aures eius*; *Ios.* 6,20: *in aures multitudinis*; I *reg.* 8,21: *in auribus Domini*; I *reg.* 8,6: *in oculis Samuhelis*; *deut.* 24,1: *ante oculos eius*).[53] As seen above à propos of pronouns and demonstratives (Section 4), *facies* and *conspectus* translate Hebrew *pānîm* ('face', usually in plural), which occurs together with a preposition in many prepositional phrases (*lipnêkæm* TO-FACES-THEIR 'in front of them'; *lipnê yhwh* 'in front of Yahweh'); *manus* corresponds to the ubiquitous Hebrew *yād* ('hand, side, power'); *tergum* renders *ᵓaḥar* ('back, behind, after'), which is both an adverb and a noun that occurs only in plural (*ᵓaḥărækā* BACKS-YOUR 'behind you'); *medium* translates the Hebrew nouns *qæræb* ('inside, interior' → *bĕqæræb ᵓĕlohîm* IN-MIDDLE-OF GODS 'among the gods') and *tāwæk* ('midst' → *tôkô* MIDST-ITS 'the midst of it'), as well as the preposition *bên* ('between'); *gyrus* and *circuitus* correspond to the noun *sābîb* ('the surrounding area' → *sĕbîbê yĕrûšālayim* SURROUNDINGS-OF JERUSALEM 'around Jerusalem'); *auris* renders *ᵓozæn* ('ear'), a noun very frequent in prepositional periphrasis; and *oculus* corresponds to Hebrew *ᶜayin* ('eyes', a dual noun → *lĕᶜênê* TO-EYES 'in the presence of'; *bĕᶜênê* IN-EYES 'in the judgment').

53. Hofmann & Szantyr (1965: 227, 234, 241, 275), García de la Fuente (1981b, 1986c, 1994a: 229–233, 1996), Macías Villalobos (1991b). In light of the sheer numbers in which these circumlocutions occur, the list given above is simply a minute sample.

7. Verbal syntax

7.1 Verbal ellipsis

The absence of a copulative verb, especially in proverbial expressions and in apodictic statements, is a common trend in Latin of all periods, but in the Latin Bible this is simply the norm: *prov.* 12,15: *uia stulti recta in oculis eius*; *prov.* 11,30: *fructus iusti lignum uitae*. This, therefore, would only amount to a quantitative Semiticism. Nevertheless, the same ellipsis occurs when the subject is in the first person, which is rather unusual in Classical Latin: *cant.* 2,16: *dilectus meus mihi et ego illi*; *cant*. 2,1: *ego flos campi et lilium conuallium*. The use of demonstrative pronouns replacing the omitted verb in a pseudo-verbal function is rare in the *Vulg.*, but frequent in the *Vet. Lat.*; e.g., in *lev.* 6,9: *haec est lex holocausti* (*Vulg.*) and *haec lex holocausti* (*Vet. Lat.*).[54] This kind of ellipsis is particularly common with abstract nouns appearing in the predicate instead of the expected adjectives: *psalm.* 119,172 [= *Vulg. psalm.* 118,172]: *omnia mandata tua aequitas*.[55]

7.2 The participle

In Biblical Latin, a finite form of the verb *esse* together with a present participle may occur instead of the corresponding finite verbal form: *Sirach* 51,9: *uita nostra appropinquans erat*; *psalm*. 122,2 [= *Vulg. psalm.* 121,2]: *stantes erant pedes nostri*.[56] This phenomenon is not unknown in Classical Latin: Plaut. *Amph.* 132: *quoius cupiens maxumest*; Cic. *Sest*. 128: *qui ita florens fuit*.[57] Nonetheless, in the Latin Bible this is a literal translation of the Hebrew original, so this constitutes a quantitative Semiticism.

54. Kaulen (1904: 284), García de la Fuente (1981a: 284, 1994a: 172–173). On the ellipsis of the copulative verb in Classical Latin, see Hofmann & Szantyr (1965: 419–423).
55. García de la Fuente (1994a: 173).
56. Eklund (1970), García de la Fuente (1981a: 324–325, 1994a: 173), Macías Villalobos (1991c).
57. See Hofmann & Szantyr (1965: 388–389).

7.3 Verbal tenses

In Biblical Hebrew and in Aramaic, there are two verbal forms in the indicative mood, a suffix perfective (*qṭl* or *qāṭal*) and a prefix imperfective (*yqṭl* or *yiqṭol*). In Biblical Hebrew, if a form of the suffix conjugation appears preceded by a proclitic *wāw* (a conjunction meaning 'and', 'but', etc.), it becomes imperfective: *dibber* 'he spoke' → *wĕ-dibber* 'and he speaks'. Likewise, the prefix conjugation can be turned perfective if preceded by the *wāw* conjunction: *yiqrāʾ* 'he calls, will call' → *wa-yyiqrāʾ* 'and he called'. The use of this *wāw* with a suffix form corresponds to two different constructions, which can be distinguished by accentuation in the Masoretic text of the Hebrew Bible: (1) *wāw-conversive*, *wāw-consecutive*, or *wāw-relative*, when the form with *wāw* depends, in terms of sequence or consequence, on a previous verb; and (2) *wāw-copulative*, when the form with *wāw* rephrases what is said in the preceding sentence. The prefix form with *wāw* constitutes the most common finite verbal form in Hebrew narrative and it is usually labeled, according to the paradigm verb, simply as *wayyiqṭol* ('and he killed'). It is important to notice that, in some particularly archaic or early sections of the Hebrew Bible, one can find instances of the prefix form with a perfective value but without *wāw* (e.g., *yāšet* 'he made' in *psalm.* 18,12 [= *Vulg. psalm.* 17,13]).[58]

The verbal system in Biblical Hebrew explains the use of imperfect and perfect forms to mark past tense in narration and historical texts in Biblical Latin.[59] The use of these tenses in a historical narrative is identical to that of Classical Latin: *gen.* 1,1: *in principio creauit Deus caelum et terram*; *Iob* 1,1: *uir erat in terra Hus*. However, both the imperfect and especially the perfect can occur instead of an expected present in wisdom texts and prayers: *psalm.* 14,1 [= *Vulg. psalm.* 13,1]: *dixit insipiens in corde suo*; *psalm.* 16,1 [= *Vulg. psalm.* 15,1]: *conserua me, Domine, quoniam speraui in te*. This usage ("gnomic perfect") is peculiar to Biblical Latin, and was not continued by Christian authors. Furthermore, the perfect occurs instead of the future tense in prophetic texts: *Is.* 8,23 [= *Vulg. Is.* 9,1]: *primo tempore adleuiata est terra*

58. Waltke and O'Connor (1990: 455–563).
59. Hofmann & Szantyr (1965: 318–319), García de la Fuente (1994a: 211–212).

Zabulon et terra Nephthali et nouissimo adgrauata est uia maris. Although the so-called "gnomic perfect" has parallels in Classical Latin, the "prophetic perfect" is unique to the Latin Bible.

In the Latin Bible, future forms can occur when the present tense is expected. This is due to the difficult translation of the Hebrew imperfective (*yqṭl* or *yiqṭol*), whose tense-aspect range frequently covers functions fulfilled in Latin by the present and the future tenses: *psalm.* 115,5–7 [= *Vulg. psalm.* 113,13–15]: *os habent et non loquentur, oculos habent et non uidebunt, aures habent et non audient, nasum habent et non odorabantur, manus habent et non palpabunt, pedes habent et non ambulabunt*. Likewise, the numerous attestations of future forms with a deontic ("imperative-like") function are directly connected to those of the Hebrew imperfective and the jussive – the latter is morphologically a shortened form of the imperfective: *Is.* 6,9: *uade et dices populo huic*. Also to render the Hebrew imperfective, present forms occur marking future tense: *psalm.* 109,7 [= *Vulg. psalm.* 108,7]: *cum iudicatur exeat condemnatus*.[60]

7.4 Latin non-finite verbal forms and the Hebrew infinitive

Biblical Hebrew has two infinitives: the infinitive absolute (*infinitivus absolutus*), which occurs paronomastically with a finite verbal form to mark emphasis or to place the focus on the verbal action (*gen.* 2,17: *môt tāmût* DIE$_{\text{INF}}$ YOU-WILL-DIE → 'you will most certainly die'); the infinitive construct (*infinitivus constructus*), which is the equivalent of the Latin infinitive (*Ier.* 39,14: *lĕhôṣiʾehû* TO-COME.OUT$_{\text{CAUS}}$-HIM → 'to take him out').[61] The Hebrew infinitive absolute posed serious difficulties to the Latin translators, and they opted for alternative strategies to render it: the present participle (*psalm.* 132,15 [= *Vulg. psalm.* 131,15]: *uiduam eius benedicens benedicam*); the gerund in ablative (*Ier.* 38,3: *tradendo tradetur*); a *nomen actionis* or a cognate of the verb in ablative (*exod.* 21,17: *morte moriatur*).[62] The con-

60. Hofmann & Szantyr (1965: 311), Rapallo (1971: 267–268), García de la Fuente (1994a: 212–213).
61. Waltke and O'Connor (1990: 580–611).
62. Rapallo (1971: 268–270), García de la Fuente (1994a: 213–214).

structions with paronomastic infinitive in Classical Latin are limited to early texts: Plaut. *Aul.* 181: *properare propero*; Plaut. *Poen.* 433: *pergin pergere*.[63] Nonetheless, the construction in question is strictly a qualitative Semiticism in the Biblical text, with no relation to these isolated precedents.

7.5 Verbal circumlocutions and periphrases

The Latin Bible abounds in verbal circumlocutions and periphrases that translate literally several Hebrew idiomatic constructions, such as verbal hendiadys and the pseudo-adverbial use of both finite and non-finite verbal forms.[64] Biblical Hebrew uses certain verbs (*šwb* 'to return', *ysp* 'to add') for what some grammarians call "quasi-auxiliary functions", which are not actually such, but verbal sequences that resemble serial verbs: *iud.* 11,14: *wayyôsæp wayyišlaḥ* (AND$_{\text{CON}}$-HE-ADDS AND$_{\text{CON}}$-HE-SENDS) 'he sent again'; *gen.* 30,31: *⊃āšûbāh ⊃ær⊂æh* (I-WILL-RETURN I-WILL-FEED) 'I will again feed'.[65] The most common circumlocutions and periphrases are as follows:

– a finite form and an infinitive, in which the finite verb indicates the nature or quality of the action (repetition, addition, accumulation, completeness, temporal sequence, etc.): *Is.* 7,10: *adiecit Dominus loqui*; *Sirach* 17,20: *confirmauit deficientes sustinere*; I *reg.* 27,4: *non addidit ultra quaerere Deum*;
– a finite form and an *ut*-clause, equivalent to the previous construction: I *reg.* 3,21: *addidit ut appareret*; *Os.* 11,9: *non conuertar ut disperdam*; I *reg.* 7,13: *nec apposuerunt ultra ut uenirent*;

63. Hofmann & Szantyr (1965: 792).
64. García de la Fuente (1986b, 1994a: 214–222).
65. Waltke and O'Connor (1990: 656) rightly question the idea that these verbs could be labeled "auxiliary", but they believe this is exclusively a lexical phenomenon in which one of the verbs fulfills an adverbial function. However, the syntax of these sequences is reminiscent of that of serial verbs. Strictly speaking, true serial verbs fulfill three conditions: they belong to a single clause; both are fully lexical verbs that can occur as independent verbs outside serial sequences; and there is no conjunction between the two verbal forms (see Crowley 2003). English exhibits some instances of verbal serialization mostly with verbs of motion: *I'll go get a beer*.

- a finite form and a gerund in accusative: *Ezech.* 8,17: *conversi sunt ad irritandum me*; *Os.* 13,2: *non addiderunt ad peccandum*;
- two finite forms in parataxis: *gen.* 43,2: *revertimini et emite*; *psalm.* 6,10 [= *Vulg. psalm.* 6,11]: *conuertantur et erubescant*; *Ezech.* 10,4: *confortare et fac*;
- two finite forms in asyndeton: IV *reg.* 1,11: *festina descende*;
- a finite verb and a present participle, frequently to reflect a construct with an infinitive absolute in Hebrew (see 7.4): *psalm.* 126,6 [= *Vulg. psalm.* 125,6]: *euntes ibant et flebant*; *Ier.* 8,13: *congregans congregabo*; *Is.* 55,2: *audite auidentes me*; II *reg.* 5,19: *euntes abibunt*; *gen.* 15,13: *scito praenoscens*;
- a finite verb and a gerund in ablative, which is rare and corresponds to the construction with infinitive absolute in Hebrew (see Section 7.4): *gen.* 37,8 *Vet. Lat.*: *regnando regnabis super nos*;
- a finite verb and a past participle: *gen.* 42,24: *reuersus locutus est*; II *par.* 33,3: *conuersus instaurauit*; *psalm.* 118,13 [= *Vulg. psalm.* 117,13]: *inpulsus euersus sum ut caderem*;
- a finite form with a substantive (usually a *nomen actionis*) in ablative, which stems from the translation of the Hebrew infinitive absolute (see Section 7.4): *Is.* 24,3: *dissipatione dissipabitur*; *Ezech.* 18,9: *uita uiuet*; *gen.* 2,17: *morte morieris*; *Ier.* 22,10: *neque lugeatis super eum fletu*;[66]
- a finite form with internal accusative (*figura etymologica*), which originates in the translation of the Hebrew infinitive absolute (see Section 7.4) as well as in the Hebrew use of internal accusative: *Ier.* 51,36: *ulciscar ultionem tuam*; *Ier.* 49,30: *et cogitauit aduersum uos cogitationes*.

7.6 Special verbal complementation

In Biblical Latin, a number of verbs exhibit ways of marking their second and third syntactic arguments that depart from their complementation in Clas-

66. In Hofmann & Szantyr (1965: 125), these constructions with ablative are regarded as the result of Greek influence or “indirect Hebraisms”. As García de la Fuente (1994a: 220, n. 5) points out, in the *Vulg.* they are direct and clear Semiticisms or Hebraisms, and in the *Vet. Lat.* they are Semiticisms coming from the Greek translation (the LXX).

sical Latin. This is a mixed collection of constructions attested in late and colloquial Latin, along with some specifically Semitic calques – even when attested only in the New Testament – such as, for instance, *deut.* 32,36: *in seruis tuis miserebitur*, *Rom.* 8,33: *accusabit aduersus electos Dei*, *Dan.* 14,8: *blasphemauit in Bel*, and *Sirach* 6,13: *ab amicis tuis adtende*.[67]

7.7 Causative constructions

Hebrew and Aramaic possess morphologically productive verbal stems that mark the causative diathesis: the *hifʿîl* (causative) and the *hofʿal* (causative passive) stems in Hebrew; the *hafʿel* (causative) and *hufʿal* (causative passive) in Biblical Aramaic.[68] For instance, from the Hebrew root **mwt*, one has *metû* 'they died' (*qal* or basic stem) → *hemîtû* 'they killed' (lit. 'they caused to die', *hifʿil*) → *humĕtû* 'they were killed' (lit. 'they were caused to die', *hofʿal*). In Latin, such a morphological procedure was not productive at all, in spite of a few vestiges of Indo-European causative stems (*discere* and *docere*, *meminisse* and *monere*). Both the *Vet. Lat.* and the *Vulg.* resort to a variety of syntactic constructions in order to translate these Semitic verbal stems, with such verbs as *dare*, *facere*, *iubere*: *Ier.* 49,37: *et pauere faciam Aelam coram inimicis suis*; *psalm.* 16,10 [= *Vulg. psalm.* 15,10]: *nec dabis sanctum tuum uidere corruptionem*. Since all these constructions are widely attested in Classical Latin as well, this can hardly be considered a Semiticism – not even a quantitative one – but simply a matter of translation strategy based on pre-existing Latin syntactic structures.[69]

67. For lists and discussions, see Kaulen (1904: 261–271), Plater and White (1926: 24–26), Hofmann & Szantyr (1965: 87), García de la Fuente (1994a: 222).
68. Although frequently placed alongside causatives, the Hebrew *piʿêl* and its passive (*puʿal*) are mostly factitive, resultative, denominative, and frequentative stems – i.e., the gemination of the second radical marks the plurality of the syntactic arguments (changing verbal valence from intransitive to transitive), the objects, or the action – but not causatives (see Waltke and O'Connor 1990: 396–432). Nevertheless, in Biblical Aramaic, the *paʿʿel*, although properly a factitive stem, can occur as a causative of verbs that are transitive in the basic stem (*pĕʿal*); see Bauer and Leander (1927: 272–273).
69. Kaulen (1904: 278–279), Plater and White (1926: 23), Kedar-Kopfstein (1973), Mengoni (1980), García de la Fuente (1994a: 214). On the Greek translation of Hebrew causatives,

8. Hypotaxis

8.1 Relative clauses

As seen above with regard to the use of pronouns (Section 4), Biblical Latin exhibits pleonastic resumptive pronouns in subordinate, mostly relative, clauses. These pronouns are translated literally from the Hebrew text, in which the Hebrew relative pronoun (ʾ*ăšær*) is indeclinable. The Latin version preserves them even if in almost all instances the Latin relative pronoun appears in the correct case: *psalm.* 33,12 [= *Vulg. psalm.* 32,12]: *beata gens cuius est Dominus Deus eius*.

8.2 Causal *ut*

The subordinating conjunction *ut* is used in seemingly causal subordinate sentences that follow interrogative clauses: *exod.* 5,2: *quis est Dominus ut audiam vocem eius?*; *exod.* 3,11: *quis sum ego ut uadam ad Pharaonem?*. In the LXX, most of these examples have ὅτι, which translates the Hebrew subordinating conjunction *kî*, an element that can introduce final, causal, temporal, conditional, concessive, and nominal clauses, alone or together with other particles and subordinating conjunctions.[70] The *Vet. Lat.* normally has *quod*, *quia*, or *quoniam* (typical translations of ὅτι in the LXX) in the same passages in which the *Vulg.* exhibits this causal *ut*, with the exception of *exod.* 3,11. Moreover, Church Fathers before Jerome (from Tertullian to Augustine) use *ut* to introduce causal sentences as in the *Vulg.*: Tert., *adv. Prax.* 13: *quis es ut non putes accipienda quemadmodum scripta sunt?*; Athanasius, *Vita S. Antonii* 6: *quis es tu, ut talia loqueris?*; Aug. *conf.* 1,5,5: *quid tibi sum ipse, ut amari te iubeas a me?*. The dearth of attestations in the *Vet. Lat.* – which was translated from the LXX rather than from the Hebrew original and was the Latin Bible these early Church Fathers knew and used – seems to pose a serious obstacle for considering this use of *ut* to be a Semiticism.

see Janse (1999, 2002: 370–379).

70. On Hebrew *kî*, see Waltke and O'Connor (1990: 640–646).

In New Testament Greek, there are examples of ἵνα used as the equivalent of Hebrew *kî*; e.g., *Ioh.* 9,2: ῥαββί, τίς ἥμαρτεν, οὗτος ἢ οἱ γονεῖς αὐτοῦ, ἵνα τυφλὸς γεννηθῇ, *Rabbi, quis peccauit, hic aut parentes eius, ut caecus nasceretur?*; *Ioh.* 8,56: Ἀβραὰμ ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν ἠγαλλιάσατο ἵνα ἴδῃ τὴν ἡμέραν τήν ἐμήν, *Abraham pater uester exultauit ut uideret diem meum*. Although most approaches to the Greek of the New Testament explain this use of ἵνα as consecutive (equivalent to ὥστε), it may be a translation of Aramaic *dî* ('that' in the most general sense, frequently equivalent to Hebrew ᵓ*ăšær* and *kî*).[71] In Classical Greek, ἵνα, which was in origin probably an adverb of place, was generally a final subordinating conjunction with subjunctive and optative verbal forms but without the modal particle ἄν.[72] The marking of causal clauses in Greek is ill-defined and constitutes a mixed set in which many subordinating conjunctions can be employed: nominal or completive (ὅτι and ἕως); local (ὅπου and ὅθεν); temporal (ὅτε, ἐπεί and ἐπειδή); and others (εὖτε in Homer, ὁπηνίκα in Attic, etc.).[73] Since final and consecutive clauses are semantically close, it was easy for ἵνα to occur instead of consecutive subordinating conjunctions (such as ὥστε) and eventually enter the ill-defined territory of causal subordinating conjunctions in Late Greek. A testimony to the progressive generalization of ἵνα is that its descendant in Medieval and Modern Greek (νά) has a wide range of meanings, similar to *dî* in Aramaic.[74]

In New Testament Greek, ἵνα may have acquired a causal sense due to both the internal tendencies of Greek syntax and the influence of an Aramaic substratum. This causal use of ἵνα would have eventually spread to *ut*. Thus, the pre-*Vulgata* Church Fathers would have taken this use of *ut* (almost completely absent from the *Vet. Lat.*) from the values of ἵνα in the New Testament. Therefore, Fridh (1977: 9–29) argued that the use of *ut* as a causal subordinating conjunction is a Semiticism. Nevertheless, as in the case of

71. On the interpretation of this ἵνα as consecutive, see Blass and Debrunner (1954: 239 §391.5), Zerwick (1966: 120–121). On ἵνα and ὅτι for Aramaic *dî/dĕ*, see Black (1967: 70–81). Nonetheless, Black (1967: 81) also regards this ἵνα in *Ioh.* 9,2 as consecutive.
72. See Schwyzer and Debrunner (1950: 673–674).
73. See Schwyzer and Debrunner (1950: 661–662), Adrados (1992: 734).
74. Compare the Modern Greek use of νά in sentences such as νά ἔρθῃ ('may he come'), and Sp. *que venga*, Fr. *qu'il vienne*, It. *che venga*.

ἵνα in Greek, this use of *ut* was already in the making in Classical Latin, as it occurs in many deliberative questions in colloquial contexts, especially in comedies: Plaut. *Bacch.* 375: *egone ut haec conclusa gestem clanculum?*; Cic. *Catil.* 1,22: *te ut ulla res frangat?*.[75] In sum, the use of *ut* to introduce causal clauses in Biblical Latin may be simply a quantitative Semiticism, in which the influence of Hebrew and Aramaic syntax came to reinforce what was probably an internal tendency in Latin.

8.3 Oaths and other special expressions

Biblical Latin exhibits special constructions occurring in oaths, statements, and emphatic negations. The subordinating conjunction *quia* occurs in the exclamatory formula *uiuit Dominus quia*; e.g., I *reg.* 17,55: *uiuit Dominus quia non occidetur* – cf. Ger. *so sehr Gott lebt* and Sp. *vive Dios que*. This Latin expression translates Hebrew formulaic exclamations with *ḥay* or *ḥê* (the latter is the construct state of *ḥayîm* 'life') followed by one of the names of the Old Testament deity (*ḥay ᵓel, ḥay hāᵓĕlohîm, ḥay yhwh*), translated as ζῇ κύριος in the LXX. This exclamation introduces oaths and it literally means '(upon/for) the life of God'. In the context of the semantics of Hebrew oaths (see below), it seems to imply "God shall not live if ..." (i.e., "as true as God lives"). The same exclamatory formula can have as its object the life of the speaker (*ḥay ᵓānî* 'for my life') or that of the listener (*uiuit anima tua* ← *ḥê napšĕkā* 'for your life').[76] Thus, the expression *uiuit Dominus quia* is clearly a Semiticism (Hofmann & Szantyr 1965: 588). Furthermore, these Hebrew idioms are translated into Latin in different ways besides *quia*: *quoniam* (I *reg*. 26,16: *uiuit Dominus quoniam filii mortis estis uos qui non custodistis dominum uestrum christum Domini*); paratactic *et* (I *reg.* 25,26: *uiuit Dominus et uiuit anima tua ... et nunc fiat sicut Nabal inimici tui*); asyndetic sequence (I *reg*. 1,26: *uiuit anima tua, Domine, ego sum illa mulier*).[77]

75. See Hofmann & Szantyr (1965: 338) and even Fridh (1977: 11–12).
76. Waltke and O'Connor (1990: 679), Joüon and Muraoka (1991: 619–620).
77. Already in Classical Latin, asyndetic sentences could actually be linked by a subordinating semantic or logical relation; see Hofmann & Szantyr (1965: 830).

In Biblical Hebrew, oaths present a counterintuitive system of negation and affirmation. The aforementioned exclamatory formula ("for God's life", "for my life") seems to work as if it were an explicit or implicit apodosis, whose protasis is marked as negative when it is semantically affirmative (*ʾim loʾ* = *nisi*, *si non*) and is marked as affirmative when it is semantically negative (*ʾim* = *si*) – with *kî* ('that') and *kî ʾim* ('that if') the oath (i.e., the protasis) is always affirmative (*si*). Nonetheless, in an attempt to explain this situation, Joüon suggested that this was due to a contamination between oaths and imprecations:[78]

(2) IMPRECATION *me puniat Deus si non fecero hanc rem*
OATH *iuro quod certo faciam hanc rem*

The contamination would result in an apparent inversion of affirmatives and negatives:

(3) IMPRECATION *me puniat, certo faciam hanc rem*
OATH *iuro si non fecero hanc rem* (affirmative)
IMPRECATION *me puniat Deus si fecero hanc rem*
OATH *iuro si fecero hanc rem* (negative)

Regardless of the actual explanation for the syntax of oaths in Biblical Hebrew, their structure is copied almost verbatim in Biblical Latin. Thus, the conditional *si* is negative ('if not'), whereas *si non* and *nisi* are affirmative ('if'): I *reg.* 17,55: *uiuit anima tua, rex, si noui* 'for your life, O king, if I know (i.e., I do not know)'; *Am.* 8,7: *iurauit Dominus in superbia Iacob si oblitus fuero usque ad finem omnia opera eorum* 'the Lord has sworn by Jacob's pride "never will I forget any of their deeds" (lit. 'if I ever forget any of their deeds')'; IV *reg.* 9,26: *si non pro sanguine Naboth et pro sanguine filiorum eius quem uidi heri, ait Dominus, reddam tibi in agro isti dicit Dominus* 'indeed for Naboth's blood and for his children's blood (lit. 'if not for Naboth's and for his children's blood'), which I saw yesterday, the Lord affirms, I shall return you in this field, the Lord says'; *Is.* 5,9: *in auribus meis sunt haec Domini exercituum: nisi domus multae desertae fuerint* 'in my ears

78. Joüon and Muraoka (1991: 618–621), but see also Waltke and O'Connor (1990: 678–680).

there is this from the Lord of the armies, "indeed many houses will be ruined" (lit. 'if not many houses will be ruined')'.[79]

8.4 Nominal clauses with *quod*, *quia*, and *quoniam*

After *verba sentiendi et dicendi*, subordinate nominal clauses are introduced by *quod* (usually with subjunctive), *quia* (mostly with indicative), and *quoniam* (more frequently with indicative). These constructions are attested in Classical Latin, but became more frequent in Late Latin (Hofmann & Szantyr 1965: 576–579). In Biblical Latin, this is merely a quantitative Semiticism due to its frequency.[80] Moreover, the use of these three subordinating conjunctions highlights the dramatic decrease of infinitive clauses in Biblical Latin. Nevertheless, in the prologues Jerome wrote for his translations of individual biblical books, he used almost exclusively infinitive clauses as objects of *verba sentiendi* and *dicendi* (García de la Fuente 1994a: 239–240). Parallel to the spread of these subordinating conjunctions and the decrease of infinitive clauses, it is noteworthy that, in general, in Biblical Latin relative and nominal clauses are quite frequent, as opposed to adverbial or circumstantial clauses, which became increasingly rare and normally replaced by adverbial locutions (see above, Section 5).[81]

9. Parataxis

Compared to most Indo-European languages, Semitic languages exhibit a paucity of subordinating conjunctions. In the eyes of a Classicist, the most striking feature of Biblical Hebrew and Aramaic is probably the overwhelming predominance of parataxis. Of course, this does not mean that Semitic languages cannot mark the same semantic relations expressed by the different subordinate clauses in Latin and Greek, but rather that these relations are

79. See García de la Fuente (1994a: 237–238).
80. See Bejarano (1975), García de la Fuente (1981c, 1994a: 238–240), Moreno Sánchez (1995), Olivera Reyna (1990).
81. Macías Villalobos (1990) has studied this syntactical trend in I *reg.*

marked through different means (specific verbal sequences, particles, and adverbs, etc.). The Latin Bible reproduces quite literally these syntactical structures from Hebrew: I *reg.* 9,26: *cumque mane surrexissent et iam dilucesceret* (*et* with a temporal sense); *psalm.* 1,6: *quoniam nouit Dominus uiam iustorum et iter impiorum peribit* (adversative *et*); I *reg.* 25,21: *et non periit ... et reddidit mihi malum pro bono* (*et reddidit ...* has a causal meaning); II *reg.* 3,39: *ego autem delicatus et unctus rex* (concessive *et*); I *reg.* 4,5: *uociferatus est omnis Israhel clamore grandi et personuit terra* (consecutive *et*); I *reg.* 3,5: *et abiit et domiuit* (final); I *reg.* 2,31: *ecce dies ueniunt et praecidam brachium tuum* (*et* instead of a relative clause); *Ioh.* 7,4: *nemo quippe in occulto quid facit et quaerit ipse in palam esse* (*et* instead of *si*). This phenomenon led to some instances of superfluous or redundant use of *et* in the *Vet. Lat.* (but not in the *Vulg.*), which correspond to the ubiquitous use of Hebrew *wĕ* ('and'); e.g., *lev.* 12,2, *Vet. Lat.*: *mulier quaecumque semen receperit et pepererit masculum* ***et*** *inmunda erit.*[82]

10. Word order

The Greek and Latin translations (both the *Vet. Lat.* and the *Vulg.*) of the Bible tend to carefully reproduce the word order of the Hebrew original.[83] For instance, in Biblical Latin, personal and possessive pronouns follow verbs and nouns. In Semitic languages, such pronouns are suffixes attached to nouns (possessive suffixes) and verbs (object personal suffixes). It is true that, for instance, in Latin the unmarked position of possessive pronominal adjectives is after the noun, and modifiers can consistently follow modified nouns in certain contexts and formulas (Hofmann & Szantyr 1965: 406–408). However, in Biblical Latin this is both the marked and the unmarked position, the default and the emphatic position of possessive pronouns. Furthermore, in

82. García de la Fuente (1994a: 235–237). On *lev.* 12,2, see also Süss (1932: 23–24).
83. As García de la Fuente (1983b) pointed out, both the *Vulg.* and the LXX reproduce more closely the Hebrew word order, but the *Vet. Lat.* (translated from the Greek) departs from it in the few instances in which the LXX does.

Biblical Latin, the modifier follows the modified, as the *rectum* follows the *regens*: *filius hominis*; *pax Dei*; *ecclesia magna*; *a populo illo*; etc.[84]

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84. García de la Fuente (1983b, 1994: 240–241).

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Brigitte L. M. Bauer

Word order

L'ordre des mots en latin est libre, il n'est pas indifférent.
Libre, en ce sens que, sauf exception, il n'y a pas pour chaque terme une place attitrée, obligatoire.
Mais non pas indifférent, parce qu'en général deux ordres possibles ne sont pas synonymes.
(Marouzeau 1922: 1)

Since Latin allowed word order variation and discontinuous constituents, it is a common misconception among linguists that its word order was indiscriminately free. Latin word order had distinct patterns, which we will discuss in this chapter. Moreover, the grammatical development from Proto-Indo-European to Latin to modern Romance is characterized by several intertwined changes: 1) a change in the basic linear ordering of elements that are in a hierarchical relationship (also referred to as OV > VO); 2) important loss of word order variation as word order became "stricter"; and 3) a growing tendency to juxtapose those elements between which there is a syntactic relation.

This chapter will analyze word order patterns in Latin from various perspectives, diachronic as well as synchronic, including structural, functional, and prosodic aspects. First I will discuss word order typology in general, word order change, and word order in Proto-Indo-European and its development. Subsequently, I will concentrate on word order patterns in Latin and their development, focusing on the syntactic load of word order, processes involved in information structure, and prosodic motivation. I will also note what changes occurred and how they took place, discussing the relation with other linguistic phenomena and evaluating what word order patterns in Latin were inherited and to what extent innovations anticipate the subsequent structures in Romance.

This chapter will therefore analyze how the three aspects involved in ordering patterns (syntax, pragmatics, and prosodics) are connected in Latin, what their origins were, and how they relate to the changes that took place. The discussion will present the state of the art of diachronic word order an-

alysis in Latin and at the same time present an innovative analysis of the interplay of syntactic, pragmatic, and prosodic aspects of Latin word order and its development.

1. Word order and typology

This section will present an overview of word order patterns and their development, referring to typological analyses of word order and crosslinguistic word order regularities as well as briefly indicating what kind of structure is typical for Indo-European languages in general and Latin in particular. A brief overview of the history of word order analysis brings to light the two axes on which word order patterns are based: diachronic development and synchronic variation. These are tightly intertwined: there is basically no word order change without variation, and synchronic variation may involve word order change. As we will see, the motivation of variation may differ with time, language, and structure. We will also discuss the correlation with other linguistic phenomena, such as case, types of subordination (relative clause vs. participial constructions), or the correlation between discontinuous constituents and case marking as expressed in nominal agreement.

1.1 Word order patterns and early typological studies

Word order analyses go back a long way. In the eighteenth century, the Frenchman Antoine de Rivarol (1757–1801), for example, referred to the French S[ubject]–V[erb]–O[bject] order as the "natural" order of "common sense", an order "nécessaire au raisonnement" (Rivarol [1784] 1929: 88). Latin was one of the languages to be included in early word order analyses (e.g., Rivarol [1784] 1929: 91ff.). In 1848 Henri Weil published a comparative study of word order patterns, including Modern English, French, German, and Turkish on the one hand, and Ancient Greek and Latin on the other (Weil [1848] 1978). He observed a difference between the ancient and the modern languages. In the ancient ones he found two "movements": "the movement of ideas … shown by the order of elements" and what he called a "syntactic movement" expressed by (case) endings ([1848] 1978: 36). He noticed that

in the modern languages these two orders coincide: the order that expresses ideas "serves at the same time more or less to express the syntactic relations" ([1848] 1978: 37). As a result, word order in the modern languages was considered to be "fixed", whereas Latin and Ancient Greek had "free" word order, "a matter of privilege in inflected languages" ([1848] 1978: 53). For his analysis, Weil examined five constructions: adjective – noun, genitive – noun, noun – relative clause, direct object – verb, and adposition – noun. Analysis of these individual syntactic phrases led to a more detailed observation; he found that languages in which word order was fixed prefer either the sequence governed word – governing word ("ascending order") or the reverse sequence ("descending order", Weil [1848] 1978: 59). This observation was important because Weil pointed out that word order patterns were not just a matter of "free" vs. "fixed", but that they are systematic across the individual syntactic phrases, reflecting an underlying grammatical relation; the ordering patterns within these hierarchical entities are of the type governing element – governed element or governed element – governing element.

The notion of correlated ordering patterns comes back more explicitly in the work of Father Wilhelm Schmidt (1926), who, on the basis of a large-scale crosslinguistic synchronic analysis, related the ordering patterns of a limited number of syntactic phrases, direct object – verb, adjective – noun, genitive – noun, the place of the subject pronoun, and the formation of possessives. Without attempting to find a single underlying and more general principle as Weil had done before him, he put forth a system of correlations. He found a correlation between the occurrence of a given sequence and that of another one; he pointed out a crosslinguistic correlation, for example, between the presence of pre- or postpositions, the inflectional nature of a language, and the place of the genitive in that language (Schmidt 1926: 382). Although he did not point out an underlying principle, he considered the place of the genitive in relation to its head noun a feature that determined what today we would call the typology of a language.

In the 1960s and 1970s word order analysis was spurred by the synchronic studies of Greenberg ([1963] 1966) and the diachronic analyses of Winfred Lehmann (1971, 1972a, 1972b, 1974). It is striking that the early approaches (Weil's dichotomy and Schmidt's correlations) continue in the work of these two scholars and those who work in their line. On the basis of a sample of thirty languages and in line with Schmidt's approach Greenberg

([1963] 1966: 74–75) put forth a series of what he called "implicational universals", which are of the type, "if in a language element X precedes element Y, then with greater than chance frequency ...", as in "When the descriptive adjective precedes the noun, the demonstrative ..., with overwhelmingly more than chance frequency, do[es] likewise" ([1963] 1966: 86). Since some factors in ordering patterns are "more closely related to each other" than others which are "relatively independent" ([1963] 1966: 77), Greenberg pointed out a "basic word order typology"; on the basis of the ordering patterns involving S[ubject], O[bject], and V[erb], adposition – noun, and adjective – noun, Greenberg ([1963] 1966: 76–77) proposed three fundamental typologies, "SOV, SVO, and VSO". The remaining patterns – VOS, OVS, and OSV – are "extremely rare", primarily because the direct object precedes the subject ([1963] 1966: 77–78). Greenberg's "implicational universals" – of which there are about 45 – entail however a high number of linguistic features, not all of which are directly related to word order, such as gender (Greenberg [1963] 1966: 93). Although he recognized that some languages consistently "put modifying or limiting elements before those modified or limited, while others just as consistently do the opposite" ([1963] 1966: 76), he did not propose an underlying general principle for the simple reason that according to him, the majority of the languages were not consistent enough: cf. English *reads a book* (VO) vs. *English book* (AN) as in *he reads an English book*.

While Greenberg carried out synchronic research focusing on correlations, Lehmann subsequently advocated systematic *diachronic* analysis of word order patterns in Indo-European languages and, revealing a regularity in word order change, proposed a binary principle underlying ordering patterns, which was modified over time: inherited O[bject]V[erb] patterns systematically have been replaced by V[erb]O[bject] structures in some Indo-European languages. Although Lehmann recognizes that there are "three patterns of government order", SVO, SOV, and VSO, the sequence direct object – verb, according to him, is crucial in determining the sequence of the other phrases, hence his distinction OV vs. VO typology (e.g., Lehmann 1972a). Lehmann's approach not only marks a return to a dichotomous approach, it reveals consistency in word order change; moreover, his diachronic approach also allowed him to account for synchronic inconsistencies, which he identifies either as residues of earlier patterns or as innovations.

Since the early 1960s and the 1970s numerous word order analyses have been carried out in line with the work of Greenberg and Lehmann, respectively (e.g., Hawkins 1983; Andersen 1980, 1982, 1983; Lehmann 1971, 1972a, 1972b; Dryer 1988). Some of these focus on a given construction in related languages. Others present large-scale multilingual comparative word order analyses involving a high number of (unrelated) languages. These carry the danger of including parts of speech that do not correspond to those in other languages. Not all languages include adjectives as a distinct category, for example, but feature stative verbs instead. Including these languages in crosslinguistic overviews without reservation may harm the outcome of the analysis (e.g., Dryer 1988).

Word order patterns in Italic and especially Latin have been analyzed along these same lines – with adaptations – by Konneker (1972 [Umbrian], 1975 [Oscan and Umbrian]), Adams (1977a [Latin/Romance]), Harris (1978 [Latin/Romance]), Bauer (1995 [Latin/Romance]), and Benucci (1996 [Umbrian]). These studies show – independently from each other – that languages indeed have word order patterns that are correlated; these are, however, not absolute laws, but rather tendencies. Depending on other characteristics of the language in question, these tendencies may be stronger or less strict, leaving room or not for synchronic variation, which may be syntactically or pragmatically motivated, or both. Moreover, some phrases – as will become clear in this chapter as well – are better indicators of word order patterns than others (the adjective, for example, is more versatile than the comparative [Bauer 2001]).

Thanks to the studies mentioned in the preceding paragraphs and others, linguists have a substantial database and therefore have been able to shift the linguistic debate to problems involving word order typology, such as the problem of language consistency (e.g., to what extent languages are consistent and how we explain correlates), the problem of language consistency in relation to language change or the unidirectionality of word order change (see, for example, Mallinson and Blake 1981; Dryer 1992).

Typological analyses of word order focus on surface structures and attempt to find correlations and underlying principles that can be directly and easily verified. Since the late 1980s/early 1990s, generative analyses of basic word order have been undertaken as well, which are in essence more abstract, aim for theoretical universals that fit the generative framework, and focus on

how individual phrases are generated and what constraints apply. Such studies tend to concentrate on given phenomena or word order patterns. Consequently, the outcome of these discussions cannot be verified as directly as that of typological analyses. Moreover, Harris and Campbell, who argue that word order change in Georgian and Indo-European may be the extension of the reordering of the elements [head – dependent] observe that "we have been prevented from seeing this simple fact by the now long-standing assumption that word order is the result of phrase structure rules, with each individual order independent of every other. Once this assumption is discarded, the order of one dyad can be seen as related to that of another" (Harris and Campbell 1995: 232).

Since the theoretical perspective adopted in this historical syntax is not the generative tradition, I refer the interested reader to only three publications in that area, which include numerous additional references, cf. Kayne (1994), Chomsky (1995), and Carnie and Guilfoyle (2000).

1.2 The correlation of word order patterns and other linguistic phenomena

Word order patterns in the individual phrases are not only related to those of others (e.g., Greenberg's Implicational Universals [1966] or Hawkins' Cross-Category Harmony Principle [1983]), they have other linguistic correlations as well. Word order is related to specific morphological processes and to specific phenomena of subordination.

Traditionally, a connection has been made between case and word order, either free word order or specific word order patterns. The development Proto-Indo-European > Latin > Romance languages often has been summarized by referring to the loss of case system and the alleged related emergence of fixed word order. According to some, the loss of case in Indo-European led to fixed word order or its reorganization (e.g., Vennemann 1974), whereas others argue that a change in word order caused the loss of case endings (e.g., Bourciez [1956: 22] on the development Latin > Romance). On the basis of his synchronic analysis, Greenberg had pointed out that there is a correlation between SOV word order and the case system, cf.: "Universal 41. If in a language the verb follows both the nominal subject and nominal object as the dominant order, the language almost always has a case system" (Greenberg

[1963] 1966: 96). Putting this observation in a diachronic perspective, Vennemann argued that Proto-Indo-European, which most likely was originally SOV and included case, underwent reductive phonological change, causing the loss of case endings. Subsequently, the verb came to be used as the element to distinguish the subject and the object by inserting it between these two nominal elements, creating the sequence SVO. The role of ambiguity as a cause of word order shift is also found, according to Vennemann, when topicalization is involved. Topicalization of the object in an SOV language would create the sequence OSV (OSV in an SVO language and OVS in a VSO language, respectively). Consequently topicalized and non-topicalized structures in an SOV language would both include a sequence noun – noun – verb. Assuming that only a language with case would allow a distinction between the subject and the object in an SOV language, Vennemann argued that case loss would lead to word order change, generating SVO (Vennemann 1974: 353, 359), in which the position of the verb between the subject and the direct object would have a distinctive syntactic function.

Greenberg's observation that languages with SOV order tend to have case has been confirmed by others as well (e.g., Hawkins 1983). Yet the history of Indo-European languages shows that the emergence of SVO order precedes the loss of nominal inflection (e.g., Koch 1974; Miller 1975; Sasse 1977). This scenario is further supported by synchronic observations: several Indo-European languages include a case system and favor SVO as unmarked order (e.g., Russian, Old French, Old Occitan). Similarly, the existence of languages with SOV and no case system (Sasse 1977) further suggests that there is no causal relation between word order change and loss of case (for a critical discussion of Vennemann's hypothesis, see Sasse [1977], Klein [1975], or Bauer [1995: 7–9], to mention but a few). Several independent diachronic studies have provided additional evidence against the alleged causal relation between case loss and word order change, cf. for example Schløsler (2001) arguing against the scenario word order change > case loss in Latin/French, Leinonen (1980), who analyzed the shift SOV > SVO in Finnish and Russian, which both have kept their cases, or Holisky (1991), who found that a dialect of Laz has lost its case system without losing its SOV order as well.

The synchronic link between the two phenomena (SOV word order and case system) can be accounted for in terms of branching. The notion of "branching" defines the linear ordering of elements in hierarchical syntactic

and morphological entities; that is the relative ordering of head – complement vs. complement – head. In sequences of the type object – verb, adjective – noun, genitive – noun, standard[1] – comparative, the complement comes first and the head is second: these phrases are left-branching, [[complement] head]. In verb – object, noun – adjective, noun – genitive, and comparative – standard sequences, the complement follows the head and the structure therefore is right-branching. Similarly, in so-called synthetic forms such as inflected nouns in Indo-European, the lexical element comes first (e.g., *domin-* 'lord') and the grammatical element – the ending – comes second (*-us* in *dominus* [nominative singular]). The case system of Indo-European is therefore typically left-branching, as is the rest of its morphological inflection. In analytic forms including an auxiliary that precedes the non-finite verb, on the other hand, the grammatical element precedes the lexical element and the structure is right-branching.

The notion of branching – applied to both syntactic and morphological structures – is based on the concept of "grammatical head", which is defined as the element in an entity that expresses inherent grammatical categories (e.g., aspect, tense, or comparative degree), that establishes the grammatical link between the entity and its context (e.g., case), or that determines the grammatical form and function of the complement (e.g., the noun in a prepositional phrase); for a discussion of definitions of heads and numerous references, cf. Corbett et al. (1993) and Bauer (1995: 26–45).

Languages that favor SOV as the unmarked order at the syntactic level tend to favor inflection at the morphological level as well because they are characterized by the same underlying ordering pattern: they are both left-branching. The underlying structural pattern therefore accounts for the often attested synchronic correlation between SOV and nominal inflection. Yet there is not just a relation between SOV and case, but a relation between word order patterns and morphological structures (nominal as well as verbal). Moreover, we will see in Section 3 that case is related to word order variation not because it expresses government relations, but also because it conveys agreement.

1. "Standard" is also referred to as "referent" in the literature.

As we have noted, basic ordering patterns show a correlation between the position of the complement and the head in the individual phrases; if the direct object precedes the verb, the adjective and the genitive precede the noun, the referent precedes the comparative, and so forth. Yet there is an exception to this regularity: relative clauses tend to follow the noun, whatever the underlying structural pattern of the language. This is the so-called syntactic asymmetry: Hawkins's (1983) overview, based on a large inventory of Indo-European and non-Indo-European languages, shows that relative clauses follow their head noun in right-branching languages, but that this sequence is relatively widespread in left-branching languages as well (40 % [Hawkins 1983: 336, 344]). The tendency is related to the length and complexity of the elements in question. Similarly in many SOV languages we find SVO instead of SOV when the "direct object is a sentential complement, replacing a clause medial with a clause final complement" (Hawkins 1988: 329). We will come back to factors such as complexity and length in word order change (e.g., formulated as the "Gesetz der wachsenden Glieder" by Behaghel [1909: 139], henceforth "Behaghel's Law") in Section 4. It is striking that both types of relative clause – left-branching vs. right-branching – may reflect different types of syntax as well: whereas the right-branching relative clause typically includes a relative pronoun and a finite form, left-branching "relative clauses" generally lack a subordinating element and are characterized by nominal syntax. The verb form typically is a nominal form of the verb, which in Indo-European languages takes the form of a participle, cf.:

(1) Cato *agr.* 156,7: *coicito in aquam feruentem*
'place (it) in water that is boiling > place (it) in hot water'

The participle is also found in contexts where it has the value of various other types of subordinate clause, cf.:

(2) Plaut. *Cas.* 664–665: *ita omnes sub arcis, sub lectis latentes / metu mussitant*
'they all were afraid to make any noise while they hid under chests and beds'

In some languages, the subject may take the form of a genitive instead of a nominative, emphasizing the nominal nature of the subordinate clause (e.g.,

Turkish, where the subject of the "subordinate" clause takes the form of a genitive when it is not co-referential with the subject of the main clause, cf. Lewis [1967] 1975: 163–166).

Subordination was an innovative feature in Indo-European, as the morphological diversity of subordinating elements suggests, and instead of relative clauses we find correlative constructions, paratactic constructions, or participial constructions in early Proto-Indo-European. Latin, which was partly SOV and partly SVO in basic word order, as we will see (Section 3), had full-fledged subordinate clauses including a subordinating element in initial position and a finite form of the verb. Even if residues of the earlier correlative constructions are still attested (especially in law texts and fixed expressions), paratactic structures are found in some contexts, and participial constructions are frequently used.

In the next section, we will see that right-branching subordinate clauses occurred early in the history of Latin, whereas the importance of case will be underlined in the discussion of discontinuous constituents in Section 3.

2. Word order patterns and change

This section will discuss word order patterns in Proto-Indo-European – including the importance of variation – as they have been reconstructed on the basis of comparative analysis and the method of internal reconstruction. Subsequently, I will discuss changes occurring in word order in Indo-European, and the position of the Italic branch in these developments. Findings will be related to the typological guidelines presented in Section 1. Linguistic phenomena that will be discussed here are the distinction between verb-final and verb-initial clauses in early Indo-European and the structure of the most important syntactic phrases, such as VPs, NPs, comparative constructions, and the occurrence of postpositions.

2.1 Word order patterns in Proto-Indo-European

On the basis of comparative analysis and internal reconstruction, it has been argued that Proto-Indo-European had characteristics that could be viewed

as evidence of SOV typology. First there are the data from the individual daughter languages as reflected in comprehensive grammars and detailed analyses of texts and documents (e.g., Delbrück 1878; Lehmann and Ratanajoti 1975), as well as detailed studies of specific constructions in the (early) daughter languages with the aim of reconstructing a given structure in Proto-Indo-European, such as the comparative construction (Andersen 1980, 1982, 1983; Cuzzolin and Ch. Lehmann 2004; Fris 1950; Puhvel 1973), prepositional phrases (Baldi 1979; Coleman 1991), or word order patterns (Friedrich 1975; Lehmann 1974). Moreover, there are independent studies of "word order" in the individual languages (articles, books, parts of books), such as Hittite (Luraghi 1990: 71–82), Mycenaean (Duhoux 1975), Greek (Dover 1960; Taylor 1994; Dik 1995), Sanskrit (Staal 1967), Proto-Germanic (Lehmann 1972b; Hopper 1975), Old English (Davis 1997), Old High German (Bernhardt and Davis 1997), Old Norse/Norwegian (Faarlund 1990; Hróarsdóttir 2000), Tocharian (Hackstein 2003), Venetic (Berman 1973), Umbrian and Italic (Konneker 1972, 1975; Benucci 1996), or Latin (Marouzeau 1922, 1938, 1949, 1953). Others analyze an aspect of word order in a given language, for example, the place of the genitive in Italic (Rosenkranz 1933), the verb in Celtic (Vendryes 1911), the verb in Latin (Linde 1923; Koll 1965), the relative clause in Latin (Vonlaufen 1974), apposition in Tocharian (Hackstein 2003), and so forth. Then there are grammars of Proto-Indo-European carried out on the basis of the comparative method and the method of internal reconstruction (e.g., Delbrück 1900; Lehmann 1974). Finally certain phenomena indirectly inform us about Proto-Indo-European word order patterns (e.g., the phenomenon of univerbation, cf. Watkins 1964, 1976).

Although interpretations of data do not always harmonize (e.g., Friedrich 1975 vs. Lehmann 1974), analysis of the evidence allows us to reconstruct word order patterns of Proto-Indo-European, and the earlier the language or its documents the stronger the tendency for OV or left-branching typology.

On the basis of the comparison of verb patterns in five languages that are geographically widespread enough to exclude language contact – Hittite, Vedic, Greek, Latin, and Old Irish – Watkins (1964) found that their verb phrases show important parallels: the recurring patterns in these five languages are: (1) the simple verb occurs in clause-final position in unmarked order and in initial position in marked order (e.g., directive speech); (2) the compound verb is split whereby the verb occurs in clause-final position, pre-

ceded by the particle in direct or indirect juxtaposition (# [. . .] P [. . .] V#).[2] These patterns "repeat themselves with extraordinary regularity" (Watkins 1964: 1037). In addition, Watkins's data show that the languages in question subsequently underwent or started to undergo a process of univerbation by which the particle and the verb became compound forms (see also Chantraine [1953] for Greek). The unmarked position of the finite verb in Proto-Indo-European was, therefore, clause final. In marked order, as in directive speech (orders), the verb was clause initial (for a discussion of the opposite view [Proto-Indo-European being VSO, Miller 1975], see Bauer 1995: 87–88).

In noun phrases, the genitive precedes the noun in unmarked order in Proto-Indo-European. The order is reflected in the early daughter languages: unmarked GN is found, for example, in the earliest Sanskrit text (Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa [Delbrück 1878: 42–43]), in Archaic Greek, Proto-Germanic (Hopper 1975: 61–63, 74–75), Celtic (Schmidt 1990), Tocharian (Hackstein 2003: 134–135), Old Armenian, Italic (Rosenkranz 1933: 131–137; Konneker 1975: 6, 370), and in Hittite, where GN is the most common and unmarked order (Friedrich 1974: 122; Luraghi 1990: 73).

The place of the adjective in Proto-Indo-European depends on its syntactic function: in predicative use it follows the noun, whereas it precedes in attributive use (Delbrück 1900: 94–102). Yet emphasis of the noun or the adjective could create the reverse order. These patterns are found in Greek, Germanic, Iranian, and Vedic Sanskrit (Delbrück 1900, 1878: 35, 94–102; Brunel 1964) as well as in Hittite, Tocharian, and Celtic (for Hittite, see Laroche 1982; for Celtic, see Koch 1985).

Prepositions as we now know them, as heads of prepositional phrases, governing one case form and preceding the noun, are an acquired feature in Indo-European. Originally they were particles or adverbial elements which, once a hierarchical structure developed, came to follow the noun and often governed more than one case, reflecting a variety of semantic values (e.g., Meillet and Vendryes 1924: 480; Coleman 1991; see Watkins [1964] for the process of univerbation; see also Baldi [1979] for the stages of the

2. The symbols are those used by Watkins. Read: initial boundary (#) followed by any material ([. . .]) followed by particle (P) followed by any material ([. . .]) followed by the verb (V) followed by final boundary (#).

changes involved; Vincent 1999). Several early Indo-European languages indeed include postpositions: Sanskrit had numerous postpositions, Tocharian – where language contact may play a role – had numerous postpositions as well (Krause and Thomas 1960: 171), Hittite only had postpositions; the few prepositions that are attested were borrowed from Akkadian (Friedrich 1974: 178–180). Homeric Greek included several postpositions, although prepositions definitely predominated and spread with time (Chantraine 1953: 83; Meillet and Vendryes 1924: 480). The fact that cognates of postpositions in the early languages occur as prepositions in the later ones further suggests that postpositions at some point changed place and became prepositions. Latin included a few postpositional residues as well, as we will see (cf. Section 3).

Comparative evidence from early Indo-European languages suggests that Proto-Indo-European originally had two constructions to convey comparison, the so-called "ablative construction"[3] and the particle construction (e.g., Lat. *te maior* vs. *maior quam tu* 'greater than you'; see Benveniste 1948; Cuzzolin, this work, vol. 3). However, there are several considerations that point to the originality of the case construction. Whereas the particle construction is found in only a limited number of languages, the ablative construction is attested in all early daughter languages. Those languages that have both constructions favor the case construction by far (e.g., Classical Greek [85 %] or Old Slavonic [96 %]; Puhvel 1973: 150). The variation in case in the so-called ablative construction is related to the development of case functions in the individual languages: in Latin the comparative case (i.e., the case that refers to the standard) is the ablative, in Greek and Sanskrit it is the genitive, in Germanic and Celtic it is the dative, and so forth. The particle in the particle construction varies crosslinguistically: it originally is a correlative element in some languages (e.g., Lat. *quam* [< *tam* … *quam* …]), but a disjunctive or adversative element in others (e.g., Gmc. *þan* [*Goth. þau*]; Meillet and Vendryes 1924: 587–588; Benveniste 1948: 139–140; Lehmann 1986: 354 and *passim*). Three languages differ from the rest: Hittite, Tocharian, and Classical Armenian do not have degree suffixes (e.g., Friedrich 1974: 187;

3. Also called "case construction" in the literature. "Ablative construction" is a label only; it does not imply that the morphological ablative case is used in a given language.

Krause and Thomas 1960: 158; Meillet 1913: 34, 44), but they use case to refer to the standard. These findings as well as the syntactic differences between the constructions in question (complex particle construction vs. non-complex case construction [Bauer 1995: 149-151, 2001]) point to the originality of the ablative comparative (see Benveniste 1948 for a different view; Bauer 1995: 144–149 for an extensive discussion of the matter; Andersen 1983). On the basis of comparative evidence and internal data, Indo-Europeanists have suggested that Proto-Indo-European had an ablative comparative (e.g., Andersen 1980), probably no degree marker, and a sequence standard – comparative (e.g., Lehmann 1974: 34). The left-branching sequence standard – comparative is attested in Hittite (Lehmann 1974: 34), in Germanic (Lehmann 1972a), Old English (Bauer 2001), and Latin (Bauer 1995; on the contact-induced change comparative – standard > standard – comparative in Indic languages, see Andersen 1983: 168–174).

Ordering patterns as found in the individual phrases in the early daughter languages correspond to general word order analyses: according to Luraghi (1990: 74), Hittite fits "the definition of a rigid SOV language very well". Similarly SOV is found in Proto-Celtic (e.g., Koch 1985: 154), as reflected especially in Celtiberian (e.g., Fostoria inscription, inscription of Botorrita [Schmidt 1990; Eska 1988]) and Lepontic in Italy (Schmidt 1976). Old Indo-Aryan is reported to have been verb-final (Masica 1991: 333); Tocharian "conforms most rigidly to the OV-language type in all its characteristics": it is verb-final, has postpositions, GN, AN, RelN sequences, and standard – comparative order (Hackstein 2003: 133–134). Finally, general archaic expressions crosslinguistically point to an early OV structure in Proto-Indo-European (Comrie 1998: 89).

These independent observations support the general agreement among Indo-Europeanists that "Indo-European was basically an OV language" (Watkins 1998: 68; earlier, Lehmann 1974). To what extent Proto-Indo-European was a so-called rigid language remains to be analyzed in more detail, but discussion in this chapter may shed light on the situation. It is striking that all daughter languages allow variation: the basic word order is OV, but variation is found and may have syntactic and pragmatic motivation. It is important to note as well that the earliest attested language, Hittite, is the most rigid and that the other early daughter languages seem to have become less rigid with time. The strictness of Tocharian may be original, but we cannot

exclude at this point the reinforcing influence of neighboring languages, also manifest in other aspects of Tocharian grammar. It may also be necessary to take into account as well that Tocharian is a language we know mainly from translations.

2.2 Changes occurring in word order in Indo-European

Since the split-up of the protolanguage, major changes have occurred in the Indo-European daughter languages. In many of them, the inherited SOV patterns gradually have given way to SVO, or in the case of Insular Celtic, VSO typology. If this change has occurred or is occurring in basically all daughter languages, the rate at which the change takes place varies. Moreover, in some instances a contact situation may have affected the outcome, in others the change is internal. The shift SOV > SVO seems to be most widespread (SOV > VSO is limited to Insular Celtic and to date there are several types of explanation[4]), and has been strongest in Indo-European languages in Western Europe, especially when we include in the shift OV > VO (or left- to right-branching) the parallel morphological changes as well. The difference in rate is manifest even between languages that are members of the same group: English, for example, is an almost full-fledged SVO language, with VO in main and subordinate clauses, comparative – standard sequences, prepositions, noun-relative order, and very limited inflection on nouns and verbs. It is inconsistent, however, in that it has a rather strict AN rule. Its sister language, German, has many more SOV characteristics as does, albeit to a lesser extent, Dutch (German has OV in subordinate clauses, AN, and a [defective] case system). The Romance languages as a group are more consistent, but their internal typological SVO consistency is disrupted because of the widespread existence of marked AN sequences (see also Section 3). Some Slavic languages have developed SVO patterns, but they have kept a strong inflectional system. Whereas Insular Celtic developed VSO characteristics,

4. Explanations refer to possible pre-Indo-European substrate influence (e.g., Morris Jones 1900; Pokorny 1964) or – more recently – to a language-internal phenomenon (observed by Vendryes [1911] and further discussed by Watkins [1963] and Eska [1994]). See also Schmidt (1990).

Gaulish had many SVO patterns by the time the Romans invaded Gaul (Koch 1985: 66, 267), but still featured several SOV characteristics (Schmidt 1990: 190, 1976). In modern Indo-Aryan (e.g., Masica 1991) we find more SOV languages than in Western Europe and influence of neighboring languages may not be excluded. Modern Sinhalese, for example, has developed SOV patterns, although Middle Sinhalese had SVO characteristics, due to the influence of Dravidian languages in the Southern part of India (Lehmann and Ratanajoti 1975; see also Andersen [1983: 185] on contact-induced change in comparatives).

In addition, we find that there is variation in the chronology of the structures that are affected by the change, especially in relation to the shorter phrases: the right-branching relative clause and comparative particle constructions are early in all dialects, but the noun phrase changes its ordering patterns early in some languages, whereas in others the verb phrase is affected first. On the whole, the syntactic change occurs before the morphological change. Among the Indo-European languages, the lineage Italic/(Modern) Romance with time has strongly developed SVO patterns. In Italic the noun phrase and prepositional phrase were primarily affected, and the shift subsequently reached the verb phrase (see below for the sequence in Latin). In Germanic, on the other hand, the verb phrase is right-branching in English and partly so in German (e.g., *er trinkt Bier* 'he drinks beer' vs. *der biertrinkende Mann* lit. 'the beer-drinking man' vs. *dass er Bier trinkt* 'that he drinks beer'), but in both languages, the left-branching adjective-noun sequence is strict.

3. Word order patterns in Latin and their development

This section focuses on Latin and its position in terms of word order within the Indo-European language family, the linguistic processes at work, and changes that eventually led to the situation in Romance. The discussion will concentrate on three aspects: the syntax of word order, the pragmatics of word order, and the prosodics of word order.

As noted, several diachronic analyses of Latin/Romance word order have been carried out that include a typological perspective (Adams 1977a; Harris 1978; Bauer 1995). Numerous earlier studies have been published on the word order use of individual authors. These analyses tend to be theory neu-

tral, data-oriented, and have been carried out by scholars who recognized any "deviation" from their author's regular style (e.g., Möbitz 1924; Feix 1934; Muldowney 1937; Adams 1976, 1977b; to name just a few). Finally, synchronic analyses of Latin word order have been carried out from the perspective of pragmatics or discourse analysis (e.g., Panhuis 1982; De Jong 1989, 1994; Bolkestein 1995; see also Molinelli 1986).

3.1 The syntactic load of word order and its development

In this section, I evaluate the ordering of elements on the basis of their grammatical function and primarily discuss the basic word order patterns within constituents. The place of the subject, which most commonly was clause initial in Latin documents (e.g., De Jong 1989), will be discussed in greater detail in Section 3.2. Analysis of the order within constituents includes, for example, the place of the genitive or adjective vis-à-vis their head noun, the place of adpositions, the respective order of adjective and term of reference in comparative constructions, and so forth. This section deals with the linear relation between these elements in terms of head and complement and therefore focuses on basic word order and its development. A distinction therefore will be made between inherited and innovative characteristics as well, because the diachronic perspective allows us to account for some of the variation that will be revealed. In the shift from Proto-Indo-European to Romance we observe a change from left- to right-branching structures and a considerable loss of variation as word order became stricter.

Latin of all periods displayed a variety of OV and VO patterns, across the various syntagmatic phrases (e.g., OV vs. NA sequences) as well as in the history of some of the individual phrases (e.g., GN in Early and NG in Vulgar and Late Latin). In the preceding section we have already indicated that the basic word order patterns in Proto-Indo-European were left-branching. Similarly, it is safe to say that Early Latin had more OV characteristics than, for example, Vulgar Latin at a late stage. As noted, the shift from left- to right-branching occurred in some phrases before it took place in others. Latin therefore inherited some of the left-branching sequences, but it inherited ordering patterns as well that had undergone the typological shift earlier (at the [pre]-Italic stage), and it developed new right-branching sequences. The or-

der of the constituents discussed here reflects the chronology of the change they underwent.

The earliest right-branching constructions in Latin are relative clauses and comparative constructions. The Latin relative clause is introduced by a relative pronoun and most commonly follows the head noun in unmarked order. Vonlaufen (1974) found that this ordering pattern was most frequent from the time of Plautus and Cato, even if preposing and intermediate position continued to be used (see also Kroll [1912] for statistical data). In structure and etymology these constructions go back to the so-called "correlative constructions". Subordination was not an original feature in Indo-European and what in modern languages would be conveyed by subordinate constructions was expressed by participial constructions, parataxis, and correlative constructions (Haudry 1973; Meillet and Vendryes 1924). Correlative constructions are complex sentences in which the clauses are co-dependent; the first clause, introduced by an indefinite element k^w-, cannot exist without the second one – including an anaphoric element – and the other way around, cf.:

(3) Lat. *quod* . . . , *id* . . .
'whatever . . . , it . . . '

Even if today's relative clauses developed from these correlative constructions, the relation between the two parts of the "correlative diptych" is different from the relation that holds between the main sentence and the relative clause depending on it, cf.:

(4) *Tab XII*, 2,3: ***cui*** *testimonium defuerit,* ***is*** . . . *ito*
'whoever needs evidence, he should go'

(5) Cato *agr.* 44: ***quae*** *arida erunt* . . ., ***ea*** *omnia eximito*
'whichever ones are dry, you have to trim them all'

There was an adjectival variety as well, which was semantically more specific and disappeared earlier than the pronominal variant, cf.:

(6) Sent. *Minuc.* 24: ***quem agrum*** *poplicum iudicamus esse,* ***eum agrum*** *castelanos* . . . *posidere* . . .
'whatever land we judge to be public state-land, that land the fortholders should own'

These correlative structures subsequently underwent a twofold development: they became hierarchical constructions and the order of clauses was reversed, cf.:

(7) (*eum*) *agrum, quem … iudicamus esse, …*

Although Latin has full-fledged right-branching relative clauses, residues of the early constructions are attested and interestingly enough underwent a change in function. In early times, these residues are found in law texts and in directive texts such as the agricultural precepts of Cato. As direct descendants of the early correlative structure, they typically have generalizing function and conditional value. In later times this use mainly survives in proverbs, cf.:

(8) *quod licet Iovi* (*id*) *non licet bovi*
'what Jupiter is allowed to do, is not the privilege of the bull (i.e., anybody else)'

In later periods, in the writings of Ennius, Varro, or Cicero, for example, the original $*k^w$- element no longer is indefinite, but has specifying function. Accordingly these constructions typically are used for emphatic reasons, as in topicalization (see Vonlaufen 1974 for an analysis), cf.:

(9) Cic. *Att.* 1,4,3: *quae mihi … signa misisti, ea nondum vidi*
'those statues you sent me, those I have not yet seen'

Consequently, the original correlative construction of Proto-Indo-European survived in proverbs and given contexts with specific pragmatic function, whereas the common complex construction typically was a right-branching relative clause.

Another early right-branching structure in Latin is the prepositional phrase. Whereas Oscan, and even more so Umbrian, includes several inherited postpositions, Latin from the earliest times onward has prepositions: in Umbrian we find five postpositions (in a total of sixteen adpositions), the cognates of which survive as prepositions in Oscan and Latin: Umbr. *-a*(*r*), *-per*, *-co*(*m*)/*-ku*(*m*) vs. Lat. *cum*, *ad*, and *pro*. Umbrian *-en* is also found as *-en* in Oscan, but as the preposition *in* in Latin (Buck [1933] 1979). Although Latin is a prepositional language, it includes residues of the earlier situation:

in pronominal contexts the adposition may follow its complement, as in compounds including a relative pronoun (*quoad*, *quocirca*, *quicum*, or *quibuscum*, which survived well into Late Latin). In combination with personal pronouns, adpositions may follow the complement as well, cf. Verg. *ecl.* 10,48: *me sine* 'without me'. These instances (with the exception of examples of the type *nobiscum* [cf. below]) were, however, limited to the cultivated language, especially poetry. With time, adpositions in this use gradually disappeared; monosyllabic postpositions survived longest.

Not all monosyllabic adpositions present the same tendency to follow their complement: *de*, for example, followed its complement only in legal texts and fixed expressions (e.g., Cic. *Verr. II* 2,31: *quo de agitur* 'the point in question'). *Cum*, on the other hand, continued to be used as a postposition for a long time and typically shows variation according to the nominal or pronominal nature of the complement, cf.:

(10) *quocum*
'with whom'

vs.

(11) Cic. *epist.* 9,9,1: *cum Caesare nobiscumque*
'with Caesar and with us'

Yet in early inscriptions we find instances that show a reinforced use of the adposition, whereby the relative pronoun-*cum* combination is reinforced by an adposition that precedes the unit, cf.:

(12) *CIL* XI.5779: *con quicu*
'with whom'

(13) *CIL* VI.16414: *con qua com*
'with whom'

(For a detailed analysis and discussion of postpositions in Latin, see Marouzeau [1949: 44–57].)

Spanish descendants of these constructions survive in *conmigo* 'with me' and *contigo* 'with you'. Moreover, inscriptions present examples of *cum quem* (Rönsch 1965: 409) as well, and some of the Classical authors use *cum* as a preposition in combination with plural pronouns, but as a postposition in

combination with monosyllabic pronouns (Marouzeau 1949: 45, 1953: 64). On the whole, *-cum* was a residue that was more tenacious than other adpositions. As for *ex*, *ad*, and *pro*, when used postpositionally, each had its own specific limitations in terms of context, author, or linguistic register, just like *de*. Their postpositional use survived longest, for example, in legal, political, or administrative texts (for more details, cf. Marouzeau [1949: 44–57, 1953: 61–69]).

These examples and their development suggest that Latin – although it was a prepositional language – still included postpositional residues. The earlier left-branching structures survived longest in pronominal contexts, among them relative pronouns, which tend to be in clause-initial position. We know from Romance evidence that these residues eventually disappeared.

Comparative constructions underwent the shift to VO patterning at an early stage as well. Comparative degree in Latin was expressed by a suffix (*-ior* [M/F] and *-ius* [N] < PIE intensifier *-*i̯es*) and from an early period the standard in Latin was conveyed by the ablative construction as well as the particle construction (e.g., Bennett 1914: 292), cf.:

(14) Plaut. *Cas*. 244: ***te sene*** *omnium sen(um equid)em neminem esse ignauiorem*
‘(that) of all old men there is none more useless than you’

vs.

(15) Plaut. *Cas*. 10: *multo sunt nequiores* ***quam nummi noui***
‘they are much more worthless than new coins’

In an earlier publication (Bauer 1995: 140–159), I have pointed out that the two comparative constructions in Latin were characterized by a different type of syntax and that their use therefore was syntactically motivated. Analysis of a high number of comparative constructions (e.g., the corpus by Neville [1901] or Clark [1922]), has revealed that the syntax of the particle construction is much more complex than that of the ablative construction. The ablative construction is used in comparisons that include two elements, as in example (16): the element that is being compared (*nil*), one nominal or pronominal referent (*homine*), one adjective (*impensius*), and no underlying complex constructions:

(16) Plaut. *Bacch*. 394: *ingrato homine nihil impensiust*
'there is nothing more expensive than an ungrateful man'

When the compared element is the subject of the clause, or a verbal, adjectival, or nominal complement, it is part of a more complex construction and the *quam* construction is preferred. Compare, for example:

(17) Caes. *Gall.* 8,6,13: *maior nostra quam reliquorum est admiratio*
'our admiration is greater than that of those remaining'

(18) Plaut. *Cas*. 73–74: *maioreque opere ibi serviles nuptiae / quam liberales etiam curari solent*
'there, servants' weddings tend to be organized with greater care than the weddings of citizens'

Moreover, comparison of a large number of case and particle constructions (cf. the examples in Bennett 1914: 292–299; Neville 1901) has revealed that the standard in the particle construction strongly tends to follow the comparative, whereas the standard in the ablative construction strongly tends to precede it (Bauer 1995: 155–157).

The subsequent development is characterized by the spread of *quam* constructions, which came to be used in contexts that before were restricted to the ablative construction. Whereas the particle construction survives in the Romance languages (Fr./Port./Sp. *que*, It. *che*), there is in the (Early) Romance languages a prepositional device as well, *de*/*di*, which occurs in specific non-complex contexts that vary in the individual languages, cf.:

(19) OSp.: *de Iudas mui peor* (Berceo)[5]
'much worse than Judas'

(20) It. *è più intelligente di Marco*
'she is more intelligent than Marco'

vs.

(21) It. *è più intelligente che studioso*
'he is more intelligent than studious'

5. Example from Penny (1991: 103).

Because of its form and its occurrence in typically non-complex contexts, this type of comparison can be traced back to the ablative construction. As part of the trend toward prepositions, the case construction from the time of the Christian writers onward came to be replaced by a prepositional phrase including *ab* (*fortior ab ullo* 'stronger than he'). *Ab*, however, gave way to *de* in Vulgar and Late Latin (see Väänänen 1966: 126, 1987: 35ff.), which explains why *de* is attested in comparative constructions in Romance.

Parallel to the change from the ablative to the particle construction, the degree suffix *-ior*/*-ius* was gradually replaced by an adverb. The Latin documents – Vulgar and Late Latin – show a variety of comparative particles, especially *plus* and *magis* (see Cuzzolin, this work, vol. 3). In the subsequent process of grammaticalization, some of the Romance languages selected *plus* as the degree marker (> e.g., It. *più*, Fr. *plus*), whereas others favored *magis* (> e.g., Sp. *más*, Catal. *més*, Port. *mais*, Rum. *mai*).

As a result, the comparative construction underwent a twofold development, in morphology as well as syntax. The synthetic morphological expression came to be replaced by particles that precede the lexical elements, creating right-branching constructions. At the same time as the spread of the particle construction the sequence standard – comparative came to be replaced by the order comparative – standard, creating another right-branching construction. Because of the existence of *quam* constructions in Early Latin, we infer that this construction had emerged in the Italic or pre-Italic period. The subsequent morphological changes and the spread of the particle construction are developments that took place in Latin and that continued in the individual Romance languages (cf. Meyer-Lübke 1894, 1899; for data on Italian, cf. Rohlfs 1968; for French, cf. Bauer 1995).

The place of adjectives in relation to their head noun is perhaps one of the most debated topics in Romance syntax. The variety of word order patterns that they present is the result of a diachronic development that to date has not come to completion. The use of AN sequences survives today under given semantic and pragmatic conditions.

Whereas the adjective in today's Romance languages in marked use still precedes the noun, it was one of the early elements in the history of Latin to change branching: from the early Italic period on, the adjective followed the noun in unmarked order. This observation is based on a combination of findings. In Oscan and Umbrian, the adjective "regularly follows its noun, but

may precede if emphatic" (Buck [1933] 1979: 224). Similarly, Konneker in her analysis of AN–NA sequences in Oscan found that the NA order was by far the most frequent one (72 vs. 5 instances [Konneker 1975: 370]).

In his monumental work on word order patterns, Marouzeau (1922, 1953) pointed out that the position of the adjective in Latin varies according to its semantic function: if the adjective has a distinctive function (distinguishing a noun from another noun), it tends to follow the noun it modifies; if it has a descriptive function (expressing a judgment), it precedes the noun, cf.:

(22) *populus Romanus*
'the Roman people'

(This use is very frequent in Caesar, e.g., *Gall.* 1,30–37, describing Caesar's diplomacy with the Germans and the Gauls).

But:

(23) Caes. *Gall.* 5,12,3: *infinita multitudo*
'innumerable quantity'

Distinctive adjectives could precede the noun, but then their use was either emphatic (as in antithesis) or figurative, cf.:

(24) Cic. *Verr.* 2,4,103: *litteris Punicis*
'Punic characters' (literal meaning)

(25) Sall. *Iug.* 108,3: *Punica fide*
'bad faith' (figurative meaning)
(Marouzeau 1922: 17–56)

Marouzeau refers to distinctive adjectives as "adjectifs déterminatifs", which convey a "qualité appartenant en propre à l'objet, indépendamment de notre appréciation ... qui permet de reconnaître l'objet, de le distinguer, de le classer", and he refers to descriptive adjectives as "adjectifs qualificatifs", which express "l'impression que fait sur nous l'objet ... un jugement, une appréciation" (Marouzeau 1922: 15), cf. *un animal aquatique* 'aquatic animal', *le territoire français* 'the French territory' vs. *un bel animal* 'a handsome animal' and *un riche territoire* 'a rich territory' (see Marouzeau 1922: 14–16 for an analysis). Since this distinction has no equivalent in English, I use the terminology distinctive vs. descriptive in order to avoid confusion with

terms such as "determiners" and "qualifiers" (for a further discussion of the terminology and functions defined here, see Bauer [2001], which integrates Waugh's [1977] and Bouchard's [1999] views).

The distinction "descriptive" vs. "distinctive" is fundamental for our understanding of the place of the adjective in Latin, but also for the situation of adjectives in the Romance languages (for a diachronic analysis, see Bauer [1995]; for Italian, see Rohlfs [1968]). Although there have been fluctuations in the actual choice of the adjectives in given contexts, it is typically the distinctive adjective that follows the noun in unmarked position and may precede it when emphatic, whereas the descriptive adjective occurs in pronominal position. The number of descriptive adjectives that systematically precede the noun has diminished with time (for a discussion of this matter, see Bauer [2001]; for a discussion of the specific values of AN combinations, see Waugh [1977] and Bouchard [1999]).

Noun phrases including adjectives therefore are rather exceptional in that they underwent the shift to NA sequences at an early stage, but the shift was not completed in full because AN still exists in today's Romance languages (albeit as a marked ordering pattern). In the Germanic languages as well, the adjective takes an exceptional position in that in English, for example, the AN sequence is a strict rule – exceptions are allowed only in a limited number of contexts – whereas English is a rather consistent VO language. The survival of AN sequences in languages that otherwise are rather strongly right-branching is possible, in my view, because they represent relatively short and non-complex constructions (see Bauer 2001). The development of (the complex) comparative constructions, which took place early and has been carried out in full, supports this observation. This aspect of word order development will be discussed in greater detail in Section 4.

The noun phrase that includes a genitive is one of the few phrases whose development can be traced almost completely in Latin documents. In Early Latin law texts, genitive – noun sequences clearly predominate in number (such as *S.C. de Bacchanalibus* 12 GN vs. 2 NG; Adams 1977a: 76–77) and the reverse order can be accounted for in terms of emphasis or length of the complement (see Rosenkranz 1933; Adams 1977a). Noun – genitive sequences typically are found in topographic indications including the name of a deity, and in indications of official functions. Both types of indication typically recur regularly and the genitives refer to an underlying opposition,

cf. *tribunus plebis* vs. *tribunus militum*. Patronymic and juridical expressions, on the other hand, are more archaic and show a strong tendency toward left-branching, cf. *iuris consultus* or

(26) *CIL* 1^2.1473: *Q. Vibuleius L.f. L. Statius Sal. f.*
'Quintus Vibuleius son of Lucius (and) Lucius Statius son of Salvius'
(see Rozenkranz 1933; Adams 1977a)

In Classical Latin, the tendency toward GN vs. NG in statistical terms seems to be *grosso modo* fifty-fifty, showing a decrease of GN sequences. Moreover, we observe variation within the work of individual authors as well, which at face value could suggest arbitrary use. In Plautus's *Aulularia*, for example, GN predominates clearly (49 GN vs. 28 NG), but in his *Bacchides* the situation is the reverse (34 GN vs. 52 NG; cf. data from Adams 1977a: 77–78). Closer examination of the data, however, reveals two interesting phenomena. Overall there is a slight numerical preference in Classical Latin authors for genitive – noun order (53.8 %). Yet the percentages are not equal for nouns and pronouns: pronominal genitives have a stronger tendency to precede the head noun than nominal genitives (see Bauer 1995: 56). It is therefore the nominal genitive that – as compared to its pronominal counterpart – has lost most of the tendency it had in Early Latin to precede the head noun. Further examination reveals that on the whole, genitive – noun sequences can be accounted for by referring to contrastive use, for example (Adams 1977a: 78). Moreover, many of these sequences occur in combination with an adjective: it is the position of the adjective that triggers the genitive to be on the same side of the noun, cf.:

(27) Caes. *Gall.* 1,19,3: *(cui) summam* [*omnium rerum*] *fidem habebat*
'(in whom) he had confidence [in all matters]'

(28) Caes. *Gall.* 2,29,3: [*magni ponderis*] *saxa*
'rocks of heavy weight'
(for more details, see Bauer 1995: 56–57)

In the writings of the Classical authors, several instances of the shift GN > NG can be observed in quasi-fixed expressions, including those with the word *senatus*, for example, which comes in first position in Cicero and Caesar, cf.:

(29) *senatus auctoritas – senatus consultum – senatus sententia*

but in second position in Livy and Tacitus, cf.:

(30) *auctoritas senatus – acta senatus – decretum senatus*
(Adams 1977a: 73–74; Bennett 1914: 51–55)

In Vulgar and Late Latin texts the sequence becomes increasingly noun – genitive: Petronius 53 % NG vs. 47 % GN; Claudius Terentianus 70 % NG vs. 30 % GN; Valesianus Anonymus 90 % NG vs. 10 % GN; Gregory of Tours and Fredegar 100 % NG (Adams 1977a: 73–75). It is significant that GN instances typically occur in formal or fixed expressions. Moreover, the occurrence of GN is also register-related. In their letters addressing learned colleagues, St. Jerome and St. Augustine have many more instances of GN than in their Bible translations or sermons, which were intended for a large and socially diverse audience. Similarly St. Augustine's *Confessiones* has many more instances of GN than his theological text *De Civitate Dei* (for statistical data, see Muldowney 1937: 55–56; Rubio, this vol.).

Consequently, Adams's conclusion that in spoken Latin of the lower classes NG represented the unmarked order and GN was "the stylistically marked variant" and rarely used (Adams 1977a: 82) is accurate. The NG sequence continued to be the unmarked order in the early Romance languages, although GN sequences were still found in fossilized forms, cf. OFr. *la Dieu merci* 'God's pity'. It is striking that the NG sequence in this example is preceded by a definite article. For French, we find that these expressions – with or without preposition – are still common as fossilized expressions in the thirteenth century *chansons de geste* (Foulet 1923: 18; see also Palm 1977 for data). If in the early Romance period the change in ordering was basically completed, the emergence of the prepositional genitive was not. The limitations and conditions in which the construction without preposition occurred point to its marked nature at that time, but the prepositional construction could include – depending on the context – *a* as well as *de* (more frequent [Palm 1977]). In Middle French, the place of the genitive is no longer an issue, but the insertion and eventual selection of the preposition is a continuing development. In the fifteenth and sixteenth century, the construction without preposition survives only in fixed expressions, cf. *l'hôtel Dieu*. The preservation of *de* which came to a completion in the individual Romance languages

(but not in all) was also manifest in the Latin period and the contexts of *a* and *de* in Old French fit this development (for more details, see Palm 1977).

The development of noun phrases including a genitive in the history of Italic and Romance shows that the syntactic change – the reversal of the order of the elements in the noun phrase – took place in the Latin period and that the related morphological change, whereby the case ending came to be replaced by a preposition, took place later and was accomplished only in the individual Romance languages, such as Middle French or Early Italian. In nominal phrases, the morphological change therefore occurred after the syntactic change.

The verb phrase underwent its typological reorganization in Latin at a relatively late stage: it not only started later than changes affecting the noun phrase or comparative constructions, it went on well into the Romance period. It is striking that once again morphological changes are slower and later than the corresponding changes at the syntactic level, as the history of preposed pronominal subjects illustrates: today they are mandatory only in French, whereas suffixes marking person are prevalent in the other Romance languages.

Latin inherited the unmarked verb-final and marked verb-initial patterns from Proto-Indo-European. In addition, it developed a third variety early on in which the verb is followed by a (in)direct complement or a prepositional phrase, but does not occur in clause-initial position. This variety is very important from a diachronic perspective because it is the direct forerunner of the Romance predominant VO sequence. We will discuss the verb-initial sequence and its motivation in Section 3.2.1 of this chapter. In this section we will focus on verb-final and VO sequences.

On the basis of his extensive analysis of a wide variety of Latin authors, Marouzeau concluded that the verb in clause-final position in Latin is unmarked. This conclusion is corroborated by analyses of the work of individual authors before and after him, for example, Kroll (1918), Walker (1918), Linde (1923), Perrochat (1926), Arts (1927), Bernhard (1927), Muldowney (1937), Watkins (1964), Koll (1965), Adams (1976, 1977a, 1977b), and Warner (1980), among others.

Yet these works also show that the preference for verb-final structures – even if they continued to predominate – gradually became less strong. In other words the written – literary and other – sources of Latin show a steady decline

of verb-final clauses. The verb-final pattern has almost no exceptions in the *Twelve Tables* and the *S.C. de Bacchanalibus* (see already Adams 1977a: 92). The constructions in question not only include direct objects (OV), but also prepositional phrases: Adams (1977a: 91) found that PP-V combinations in these texts outnumbered those with the reverse order by 36 to 2. From Plautus on, however, verb-final patterns no longer are exclusive, and depending on the author or the register VO is not uncommon although not predominant. In some of Plautus's plays, the VO tendency is well represented: e.g., *Miles Gloriosus* (lines 1–500) 45 examples of VO (56 %) vs. 35 examples of OV (44%); for adverbial prepositional phrases, the statistics are similar in the *Miles Gloriosus* (lines 1–600): PP-V 78 vs. V-PP 87 (Adams 1977a: 91, 94–95). In *Asinaria*, however, OV predominates over VO by 30 to 15 (Adams 1977a: 95). From Plautus on, the percentages of OV only decrease, even if the pattern continues to clearly predominate (cf. Linde 1923).

Moreover, this tendency is stronger in main clauses than in subordinate ones, i.e., the loss of OV sequences was slower in subordinate clauses. It is striking that indirect evidence points to a similar conclusion: in Oscan texts after 200 B.C.E. there are instances of VO (none before that time), but these instances are only attested in main clauses, not in subordinate ones. This observation is important from a typological perspective: in numerous other Indo-European languages we find OV patterns predominantly or exclusively in subordinate clauses and VO patterns in main clauses, for example, Umbrian, Oscan, Old French, Old English, Modern German, Modern Dutch. The archaic OV patterns typically occur in subordinate clauses, whereas the main clause is characterized by verb-medial or verb-second position.

The verb-medial position was an innovation in Latin. In contrast to the verb in clause-initial position, the medial position did not express any specific value or function of the verb. The medial verb in fact was another unmarked position of the verb. Data from the first 500 verses of Plautus's *Miles Gloriosus* reveal factors that may have affected the development of word order in Latin. In these verses Adams found that when the verb combined with a direct object there was a clear preference for OV. In contexts including a prepositional phrase specifying circumstances or means, V-PP is preferred over PP-V in 87 instances of a total of 165 (52.7 % [Adams 1977b: 91]). These data show that VO patterns were not arbitrary but that an important factor involved in this type of sequence is the length of the elements in ques-

tion (Behaghel's Law, see Section 3.3.2). An early but extensive study by Linde (1923) has further shown that the nature of the elements that follow the verb is of prime importance in this matter, revealing tendencies that are confirmed by our own readings: the elements in postposition most often are adverbial combinations referring to aim or goal, and take the form of prepositional phrases, cf.:

(31) Sall. *Catil.* 20,6: *nisi nosmet ipsi* ***uindicamus in libertatem***
'if we do not bring ourselves into freedom > if we do not emancipate ourselves'

(32) Petron. 38,2: *et eos* ***culauit in gregem***
'and he rammed them from behind into his flock'

The next most frequent element in this context is the direct object; after direct objects we find most frequently gerundives, supines, infinitives, and AcIs. Compare:

(33) Petron. 36,6: *scissor …* ***lacerauit obsonium***
'the slicer tore the meat apart'

(34) Petron. 38,5: *vides* ***tot culcit[r]as***
'you see so many cushions'

In addition the medial position of the verb is often due to the fact that the verb is inserted in a noun phrase in order to create a disjunction that emphasizes the noun or the adjective in question (see also Section 3.2.3). In other words, it is not the verb proper that is the aim of the disjunction, but rather the other elements. In this respect the medial verb differs fundamentally from the initial verb.

With time we observe a steady increase of VO patterns in Latin and the elements that follow the verb are similar in a wide variety of authors, Petronius (25–30 %), Apuleius (35 % in main clauses), *Itinerarium Egeriae* (35 SVO vs. 22 SOV), Anonymus Valesianus (59% VO in main clauses), among others: see, e.g., Adams (1977b). In accordance with the spread of VO patterns in Latin, we also observe a spread of auxiliary – infinitive constructions as well as participial constructions including a direct object (18 participle – object vs. 8 object – participle; Adams 1976; Bauer 1995: 102).

The studies of word order in the individual authors, comprehensive studies, as well as my own analysis show that the medial verb was much more frequent in Vulgar and Late Latin than in Early Latin, and became increasingly frequent in Classical Latin documents. Moreover, it was more frequent in main than in subordinate clauses. The elements that follow the verb are indeed its complements; these complements are rather lengthy – often prepositional – elements, and, last but not least, the sequence was unmarked. In disjunctions, it is not the medial verb, but the elements of the noun phrase that have specific semantic or pragmatic functions. The medial verb therefore was an unmarked sequence which, moreover, was right-branching.

3.1.1 The syntactic load of word order: preliminary conclusions

Many individual syntactic phrases of Latin show word order variation that, on the surface, may seem to be completely arbitrary. Systematic diachronic analysis, however, allows the linguist to grasp the underlying grammatical system and the regularity and cohesion of its development. Similarly, in any period of Latin we find a seemingly heterogeneous combination of cases, prepositions, and postpositions (e.g., *amicis* 'friends-abl.', *cum amicis* 'with friends-abl.', *mecum* 'me-with', *temporis causa* 'time-gen. because'). The Indo-European comparative perspective, which reveals the archaism of postpositions, the inherited nature of the case system, and the innovative character of prepositions, as well as diachronic analysis, which reveals a steady increase in the use of prepositions at the expense of the case system, shows that the left-branching patterns are archaic while the right-branching structures are innovative and part of a long-term development.

Synchronic variation in word order patterns therefore includes archaisms and innovations as well as stylistic variation, and these are sometimes connected. These types of variation, however, are context-related: archaisms as well as innovations may be found in certain contexts, but not in others, whereas some stylistic variety (cf. below) is context-bound as well. The ablative comparative in Latin, for example, typically is found in non-complex contexts and in comparisons that include two elements and only one adjective; particle comparatives in origin typically occur in much more complex constructions, but at some point start to spread to non-complex structures as well. The adjective underwent the shift toward right-branching at an early stage,

but AN sequences survive in the Romance languages in given contexts and convey specific semantic values. This mobility disappears when the adjective is part of a more complex construction, cf.:

(35) *un jardin grand comme un mouchoir*
'a garden as large as a handkerchief' (see also Grevisse [1936] 1993: 502)

(See Section 4 for a fuller discussion.)

In the history of Latin, we observe a steady increase of VO or right-branching structures, which is a very long development starting before Latin and going on well into the Romance languages. As indicated earlier in this chapter, the right-branching relative clause developed before other constructions with a similar branching pattern. Similarly, in Vedic Sanskrit right-branching relative clauses co-exist with predominating postpositions as well as OV comparative constructions (Miehle 1974: 425). Crosslinguistically as well, we notice that the right-branching relative clause is widespread among the Indo-European languages, whereas case systems survive in several languages: crosslinguistically, then, the change of branching may affect syntax, but not yet morphology.

The typology of Latin may best be summarized by saying that it is a system in transition, moving to a right-branching system from inherited left-branching structures, which inherently allow for more word order variation than, e.g., an SVO underlying structure. On the whole, the emergence of right-branching relative clauses, the creation of prepositions, the shift AN > NA, which was perhaps even pre-Italic, and the particle comparative were early, and the change affected these phrases before Latin proper. The Latin verbal phrase definitely was much slower to develop right-branching characteristics: from the inherited pattern – unmarked verb-final and marked verb-initial – Latin developed a third position, in which the verb is followed by its complement, with or without preposition. This construction, which also is unmarked, spread with time in Vulgar and Late Latin and eventually became the predominant structure in Romance. Residues of inherited unmarked structures are manifest in subordinate clauses in early Romance, which for a long time continued to use verb-final constructions, excluded elsewhere. Verb-final subordinate clauses as well as brace constructions were common in Medieval French, cf.:

(36) *CdR* 755: *Carles, li reis ki France **tient***
'Charles the king who owns France'

(37) *CdR* 523: *li emperes **est** par matin **levet***
'the emperor got up early'

(38) *CdR* 669: *il ... **ad** sun tens **uset***
'he has used all his time'

These constructions were used in French until the seventeenth century.

In Spanish, by contrast, the auxiliary and the perfective participle became a contiguous entity at an early stage (Olbertz 1993), and there are relatively few instances of *habeo* + direct object + perfective participle, cf. the following example from the second half of the twelfth century:

(39) *El poema de mío Cid*, 811: *riqueza que el Criador nos **á dado***
'the riches the Lord has given us'
(Olbertz 1993: 251)

The syntactic reorganization of the Latin verb phrase, therefore, started in (Early) Latin and carried on well into the Romance period. Whereas several syntactic phrases were already undergoing a structural reorganization, Latin had a strongly developed and well established inflectional system: a case system with six cases (plural and singular) for nouns, pronouns, determiners, and adjectives (which also are marked for gender), a verb system with suffixal aspect, tense, mood, voice, and person marking, and the use of particles, such as *-que* 'and' and *-ue* 'or'. This system survived longer than the corresponding left-branching syntactic constructions.

In details as well, the history of Latin clearly shows that the shift from left- to right-branching affected syntax before morphology: in the development of GN > NG, it is the change in the sequence of the elements that precedes the replacement of the case ending by a preposition. Similarly, the suffixal morphology of the verb is still well established, with imperfect tenses as well as a synthetic future tense (even if the analytic right-branching one is spreading), a synthetic modal system (variously productive in the individual languages), and the marking of person on the verb for all Romance languages except French. Yet despite the persistence of some inflected forms, many morphological structures underwent a reorganization: structures in which the

grammatical element precedes the lexical element came to replace the inherited inflected forms: e.g., compound tenses in Romance including an auxiliary *habeo*, compound passive forms, prepositions replacing case endings, the emergence of preposed definite articles (except in Rumanian) with strong grammatical functions, and so forth.

These structural changes often are closely related to other changes in the grammar of Latin. The Latin verb was marked for tense and aspect. Aspect, a grammatical feature inherited from Proto-Indo-European, is clearly manifest: the Latin verb was structured around an imperfective stem (*laud-*, e.g., *laud-o* / *laud-a-bam* and *cap-*, e.g., *cap-io* / *cap-ie-bam*) and a perfective stem (*laudau-*, e.g., *laudau-i* / *laudau-eram* and *cep-*, e.g., *cep-i* / *cep-eram*). Similarly, the distinction between *laudatur* and *laudatus est* was in origin aspectual. Yet the Latin verb also included two future tenses (future and future perfect), which were innovations, and subsequently developed an auxilairy *habeo* to be used in future and compound forms, a development that reflects the growing importance of tense.

The development of right-branching structures in the syntax and morphology of Latin/Romance also affected the synchronic variability of word order. Any given language with a well-developed case system allows for more variability in word order. Since the syntactic function of elements of the clause is not solely expressed by their position, word order can be used as a pragmatic or stylistic device. This observation does not mean that languages with a case system have free word order: if they allow for more word order variation, there is an unmarked order (see Section 1.2). Also the fact that the presence of case theoretically allows for more word order variation does not necessarily mean that the language in question is characterized by significant word order variation. Since a right-branching language as a rule does not include a case system, right-branching languages tend to have a much stricter word order. The history of Latin/Romance shows that with the development of right-branching structures, word order variation decreased. This means not only that gradually the archaic patterns disappear, but also that word order variation motivated by pragmatic, stylistic, and syntactic factors diminished. In the history of Latin we notice, for example, that one of its common characteristics, discontinuous phrases, disappeared. In the next section we will discuss syntactically and pragmatically motivated word order variation in Latin.

3.2 Information structure

Whereas the previous section focused on basic word order, this section deals with variation patterns in Latin that are syntactically, but especially pragmatically, motivated. For reasons of space, not all word order variation can be taken into account: only varieties will be discussed that are important from a diachronic perspective in the sense that they affected the course of linguistic development. One aspect that will be included is the occurrence of the verb in initial position of the clause: an interplay of syntactic and pragmatic factors accounts for these patterns. Related to this phenomenon is the position of the subject, which as topic of the clause tends to come first; in Vulgar and Late Latin, however, we observe an increase in subject inversion in specific contexts.

Analysis further includes the pragmatics and stylistics of phenomena such as discontinuous constituents, addressing questions of the type "what is their linguistic role?", "what are the percentages in the various documents?", "what elements are inserted?", "what development did they undergo?", and so forth. Moreover, at the other end of the historical spectrum, Romance languages allow processes such as topicalization, left and right dislocation, and cleft sentences; these will be compared to their equivalents or forerunners in Latin. This section will also address the question "what element in a motivated sequence carries the pragmatic or functional load?" Verbs occurring in initial position, for example, have specific pragmatic and stylistic functions; by contrast in contexts in which the verb has medial position, we often find that an element other than the verb carries that load.

3.2.1 Verb-initial clauses: syntactic vs. pragmatic motivation

The verb in initial position is interesting because it initiates a sequence that may have syntactic as well as pragmatic motivation.

Verb-initial clauses may be syntactically motivated: they occur typically in main clauses preceded by a subordinate clause, a negation, or an adverb, cf.:

(40) Petron. 46,7: *quod si resilierit, destinavi illum artifici⟨um⟩ docere*
'if he is restless, I have determined that he will learn a trade'

This type of structure is typically attested in the texts of novelists, such as Apuleius or Petronius (cf. Kroll 1918: 117; Möbitz 1924; Väänänen 1987: 104–105), but its actual occurrence may vary according to the type of subordinate clause: in some authors it is typically found after temporal subordinate clauses, in others after conditional clauses. More important perhaps than the actual characteristics of the subordinate clause are the frequency rates according to register: the phenomenon is frequent in the writings of such authors as Petronius, Tertullian, and the *Itinerarium Egeriae*, works characterized by popular, everyday language. We may therefore conclude that the phenomenon spread in the common language. This observation is further supported by the survival of the structure in Romance.

Pragmatically the verb-initial position has several motivations. First, the clause-initial position corresponds to a high incidence of hortative subjunctives, but especially imperatives. True verb-initial clauses therefore commonly have directive function – a pattern inherited from Proto-Indo-European (e.g., Watkins 1964) and surviving in the Romance languages: the place of the verb reinforces its modal value. Yet the use of directive speech in Cato is revealing. When referring to a second person singular, Cato most frequently uses *-to* imperatives, which in the very large majority occur in clause-final position.[6] These forms typically alternate with second singular indicatives or subjunctives, as in:

(41) Cato *agr.* 5,6: *aratra vomeresque* ***facito*** *uti bonos* ***habeas***
'take care of your plows and plowshares so that you have good ones'

Reference to a third person is made with the 3rd singular subjunctive, e.g., when Cato is defining the tasks of an overseer:

(42) Cato *agr.* 5,1: *alieno manum abstineat*
'he should keep his hands off someone else's property'

These patterns are found throughout Cato's text.

6. In a few instances the 2nd person imperative is used , cf.:

(i) Cato *agr.* 5,8: *stercilinum magnum stude ut habeas*
'make sure that you have a large dunghill'

In Plautus, on the other hand, there are numerous instances of clause-initial 2nd person singular imperatives, cf.:

(43) Plaut. *Cas.* 404: *percide os tu illi odio*
'smash his jaw with malice'

(44) Plaut. *Cas.* 407: *feri malam, ut ille, rursum*
'smash him back in the face, just like him'

Petronius has many similar instances, cf.: Petron. 44,3: *serva me* 'take care of me', Petron. 47,6: *ignoscite mihi, amici* 'excuse me friends', Petron. 47,6 and *passim*: *credite mihi* 'believe me', Petron. 48,4 and *passim*: Dic *ergo*, … 'tell me …'.

Verb-initial clauses have other special pragmatic values as well: they are found especially when a definition is being presented, a wish or intense emotions are expressed, and so forth. It is striking that in these circumstances the finite form of the verb is often reinforced by a pronominal subject, especially *ego* (Marouzeau 1938: 55). Another principle is at work as well: the verbs in question often govern an AcI or a subordinate clause, which always are relatively lengthy elements and therefore tend to come second (Behaghel's Law).

Moreover, the verb in initial position typically is found in two distinct pragmatic functions. In a variety of texts covering a wide time span, we find that the initial verb overall becomes more frequent with time and – more importantly perhaps – that it typically occurs in so-called lively style and/or narration (e.g., historical texts, novels, travel accounts). These instances normally introduce either an extensive description or detailed narration (especially in poetic texts) or push ahead the narrative (data from Kroll 1918; Linde 1923: 160–161; Marouzeau 1938; and our own readings). These functions are further supported by a distinct use of tense: initial verbs that convey extensive descriptions typically are imperfective tenses (e.g., Kroll 1918: 115), whereas those that mark the progress of a narrative typically are perfective or historical presents (e.g., Linde 1923), patterns commonly found in Petronius's texts or the *Itinerarium Egeriae*, for example.

A writer like Cato, who has little narration in his text and who does not have a very lively style, rarely uses the verb in initial position except in orders or instructions. The importance of initial verbs in the spoken language is

manifest in the frequent occurrence in the colloquial fragments in Petronius as well as its distribution in the works of St. Augustine: in his *Confessiones*, 50 % of all sentences have verb-initial constructions, whereas the percentage is down to 31 % in the theological *De Civitate Dei* (Muldowney 1937: 105). The patterns found in the works of St. Augustine correspond to those attested in earlier writers: initial verbs are linked to directive speech (133 imperatives/hortative subjunctives in initial position vs. 49 in final position). They mark progress of narration and "mark stages in the progress of an argument" (Muldowney 1937: 110). Finally, verbs of saying, knowing, perceiving, etc., tend to occur in initial position.

It is striking, however, that a verb may also be fronted, not for pragmatic reasons or because the verb needs emphasis, but because another element needs emphasis and therefore is put at the end of the clause, cf.:

(45) Cic. *rep*. 1,19: *quid agatur in caelo … quid fiat domi*
'what might be done in heaven … what might happen at home'

A detailed analysis of the use of true initial verbs (occurring in the very first position of the clause) further supports these observations and in fact underlines refined pragmatic values. On the basis of her analysis of verb-initial instances in a segment of *De Bello Gallico* (Ch. I–III), Luraghi (1995) found that true initial verbs – apart from presentative sentences – often occur in clusters and reflect a break in the narrative either because they mark the beginning of a description of place or circumstances at the time of a certain event – the tense typically used is the imperfect – or because the events that are presented are unexpected – the tense used then is the perfect or the historical present.

Presentative sentences, which often include the verb 'be' and interrupt the regular narration specifying a condition, also may have a true initial verb, cf.:

(46) Caes. *Gall.* 5,25: *erat in Carnutibus summo loco natus Tasgetius*
'there was among the Carnutes a man of highest lineage, Tasgetius …'

It is interesting to note that Romance languages, which no longer feature this type of verb-initial clause, use the imperfect and the definite past tenses in the

same way: in a narration the imperfect provides background information of the events that are taking place, whereas the succession of events is typically referred to by the successor of the Latin perfect tense (It. *passato remoto*, Sp. *pretérito indefinido*, Fr. *passé défini*) or the form that is replacing it (It. *passato prossimo*, Sp. *pretérito perfecto*, Fr. *passé composé*), depending on the language.

Similar patterns in initial-verb use are found in other early Indo-European languages as well. In Greek, true initial verbs occur in basically the same types of clause: topographic descriptions, presentative sentences, including a verb 'be', accompanying circumstances (imperfect tense), unexpected events, and – this is different from Latin – in clauses that provide information as to the validity of a given statement (Luraghi 1995: 373–379).

Evidence from Hittite and Old Indic is even more interesting because it reveals the development of the pragmatic functions of word order variation in Indo-European. The only (and earliest) variation in verb position that has been reconstructed for Proto-Indo-European – on the basis of comparative evidence – has been the "occasional" initial verb that marked imperative and contrast (e.g., Delbrück 1900: 83; Watkins 1964; Lehmann 1974). This reconstruction is "supported in the first place by Hittite and Old Indic" (Luraghi 1995: 380). Luraghi argues that the initial verb, being exceptional, subsequently became the sequence to be used when something unusual was taking place: when new information was being presented, which typically is the case in presentative clauses, the verb came to occur in initial position, or when there was a change in the "organization of the discourse" or in the way events are reported. Consequently, historically the initial verb first spread from directive speech to presentative clauses, and from there to other pragmatically marked clauses (in all early Indo-European languages, except Hittite [Luraghi 1995: 381]), such as contexts that break away from regular narration. If Hittite does not typically have initial verbs in presentative clauses, it does have another phenomenon that is pragmatically motivated and that is closely related to the verb in initial position: in Hittite as well, true initial verbs tend to occur in clusters and typically combine with a particle that conveys adversity (Luraghi 1995: 358–359, 381). Consequently, the instances of initial verb in Hittite show that adversative use of the verb in Hittite is marked by a particle in combination with the initial position of the verb, indicating that the device of placing verbs in initial position is not (yet) automatic.

Luraghi's (1995) analysis presents a reconstruction of the spread of initial verbs that is convincing because it takes into account the diachronic data as well as a possible motivation. It also shows that Latin and Greek allowed for more pragmatic word order variation than, for example, Hittite, and therefore shows that word order became looser with time. The pragmatic functions of verb-initial clauses, for example, have increased with time, from Hittite to Latin and Greek, but with time the pragmatic variety found in Latin has diminished again.

Subject inversion is closely related to the occurrence of the verb in clause-initial position. The history of the subject in Latin/Romance is characterized by two developments. On the one hand, its status changed dramatically: the nominal subject in Latin was used only when there was a change in grammatical subject in the transition to a new sentence or in more general terms when the identity of the subject was not clear from the linguistic or pragmatic context. The pronominal subject typically occurred when there was a need for emphasis (for early instances of non-emphatic use in Petronius, see Nelson 1947: 120–123; Petersmann 1977: 45–48). In Modern Romance the nominal subject is used also when there is no change of subject, and the use of the pronominal subject is spreading. In Modern French its use is mandatory and no longer emphatic, whereas its use in the other Romance languages – although emphatic as a rule – is spreading, but by no means mandatory (for the status of subject pronouns in Romance, see Harris 1978: 111–122; Klausenburger 2000: 81–97; Schwegler 1990: 75–116; to mention but a few).

The other change is subject inversion. Subject inversion is attested in Classical Latin, but spread in Vulgar and Late Latin and is found in various degrees in the individual early Romance languages. Some instances in Classical Latin are accounted for: the clausal subjects tend to follow the verb because of their length (see, e.g., Bolkestein 1995: 33), thereby following Behaghel's Law (1909). Length of the subject is a factor in determining whether it follows the verb in the individual authors: in Petronius, for example, the subject that follows the verb typically includes several elements, it is a noun phrase including an adjective and a noun, a noun and a genitive, or a noun and a relative clause, which confirms Feix's (1934: 24–25) observations.

In Classical Latin, VS sequences typically include intransitive verbs and less frequently active transitive verbs. Bolkestein (1995: 42) found neither semantic conditions nor pragmatic functions in relation to this phenomenon.

In view of what we have found out about initial verbs in the preceding paragraphs, it is striking that VS clauses include relatively few anaphora, neutral connectives, or any other linking phenomena. The link with the context therefore is relatively loose "with a view of the state of affairs as separate rather than as a constituent part of a continuous chain" (Bolkestein 1995: 43). Both phenomena – inital verbs and subject inversion – seem therefore to be more pragmatically related than may seem to be the case at face value because the subject in Latin was not always overtly expressed.

Moreover, syntactic contexts that triggered initial-verb position also trigger subject inversion, cf.:

(47) Petron. 34,2: … *et puer iacentem sustulisset, animadvertit Trimalchio*
'and the boy picked it up from the ground, Trimalchio noticed him …'

In addition, Vulgar and Late Latin documents are characterized by a high incidence of subject inversion in typical contexts: a high percentage of VS sequences include an intransitive verb or a passive verb; by contrast active transitive verbs rarely have subject inversion. Moreover, the subject in these instances is typically nominal; pronominal subjects precede the verb (Adams 1977a; for numerical data for the *Itinerarium Egeriae*, see also Väänänen 1987: 106).

To date there is no explanation for this phenomenon: it is striking that in Classical Latin subject inversion typically occurs in combination with intransitive verbs, whereas in Vulgar and Late Latin texts it typically occurs with intransitive and passive transitive verbs.

Subject inversion survived in the Romance languages, but the individual languages make different use of it. In Old Spanish documents, for example, subject inversion (VSO, VOS, OVS) is pragmatically motivated and often used in topicalization contexts. In Old French, subject inversion has primarily a syntactic motivation: when a prepositional phrase, an adverb, or a direct object occurs in clause-initial position, the subject is inverted. Consequently, subject inversion is triggered by a syntactic condition, but object fronting may be pragmatically motivated. In Old French we therefore find a continuation of the Latin situation, whereas Spanish may have undergone influence from Semitic contact languages (Crabb 1955). Spanish has maintained a greater

freedom of word order than French, and the contexts in which the subject is inverted in French only have diminished. First a subordinate clause no longer triggered subject inversion (as in Old French), then a direct object no longer automatically triggered VS sequences (from the thirteenth century), which may be related to the upcoming use of pronominal subjects (these typically occur before the verb). Today, the subject is inverted only when specific adverbs are in clause-initial position; otherwise the order is SVO, cf.:

(48) *aussi ont-ils raison*
'therefore they are right'

It is interesting that from the early Middle French period on, when object fronting no longer automatically triggered subject inversion, the clauses typically have anaphoric pronouns, reflecting modern structures of topicalization, cf.:

(49) Bérinus 1,304,4: *les deux messagers il les fist entrer*
'the first messengers he made them come in'
(Lewinsky 1949: 102–103)

Translation texts in the early Middle Ages as well show that inversion – although still widespread – was losing ground: in the French *Fragment de Valenciennes*, there is a systematic reversal of the Latin VS order into SV: if a Latin sequence VSO or VOS undergoes a change of word order, it will be to SVO, not the other way around (Herman 1954: 83)

3.2.2 Cleft constructions

Various modern Romance languages include so-called cleft constructions of the type *c'est … qui*, cf.:

(50) Fr. *c'est moi qui ai fait cette bêtise*
'it is me who made that blunder'

(51) *c'est la femme qui décide*
'it is the wife that decides'

These constructions are emphatic versions of the more neutral *la femme décide*: the element *femme* has been taken out of the regular sentence, put to

its left and connected to the rest of the clause with a copula and a relative pronoun; in the process the original clause is turned into a subordinate one, cf.:

(52) a. Fr. *la femme décide* >
b. Fr. *c'est la femme, qui décide*

Contrary to what many grammars or analyses of French have suggested – implicitly or explicitly – these constructions are not typically French. They are also attested in Germanic and Celtic languages (Löfstedt 1966: 263ff.), but they are especially frequent in the other Romance languages, cf.:

(53) a. It. *è la moglie che decide*
b. Sp. *es la mujer quien decide*

Moreover, these constructions are attested not only in Modern French, but also in earlier varieties of French, including Old French as well as in the other Romance languages at various stages in their history, cf.:

(54) *Vie de St. Léger* 99: *cio fud Lusos ut il intrat*
'it was Lusos that he came in'

The early instances of the construction in combination with their occurrence in almost all Romance languages suggests that it was inherited. This hypothesis is supported by Latin evidence: the construction had forerunners in that language as well, even if they were not widespread. In Latin we find two types of construction, with and without an anaphoric element, cf.:

(55) Plaut. *Merc*. 758: *non ego sum qui te dudum conduxi*
'it is not me who hired you a short while ago'

vs.

(56) a. *non ego is sum, qui conduxit*
or:
b. *non ego is sum, qui conduxi*
'I am not the one who . . . '

Both structures are used by authors in similar contexts and there does not seem to be a difference between them (Löfstedt 1966: 264).

It is important to note, however, that if indeed these structures have distinct pragmatic and semantic functions, they are also ambiguous because the grammatical function of the verb may vary, cf.:

(57) Petron. 140,12: *dii maiores sunt qui …*

(57) could mean either 'it is the greater gods that …', in which case *sunt* is a copula, or 'there are gods who …', in which case *sunt* is a full lexical verb (see Löfstedt 1966: 267). It is obviously the sentence with the first interpretation that is the true forerunner of the cleft construction in Romance. *Esse* in the other reading typically came to be replaced by impersonal *habet* or *facit* constructions, cf.:

(58) a. Fr. *il y a des dieux qui …*
b. Fr. *il y a longtemps que … / cela fait longtemps que …*
c. Sp. *hace mucho tiempo que …*

According to Löfstedt, the variety that today is most frequent (*c'est à vous que je parle* 'it is to you that I am talking') is attested only from the thirteenth century onward and replaced the earlier *c'est vous à qui je parle* (Löfstedt 1966: 259), cf.:

(59) *Pathelin* 1479: *c'est a vous que j'ay a faire*
'it is with you that I have to deal'

At this point, we are not able to pinpoint the exact chronology of the development of these constructions, their true forerunner (with or without determiner), the exact role of tenses used in these contexts, or the role of subject agreement. Latin includes both agreement varieties, those in which the verb agrees with the relative pronoun [*qui*: 3rd person] and those in which it agrees with the underlying subject [e.g., *ego*: 1sg.], as in *non ego is sum, qui conduxit* vs. *non ego is sum, qui conduxi.* Further research in Latin, but more so in a number of early Romance languages, needs to be carried out. Yet it is clear that there are important differences between Latin and the Romance languages that reflect a general tendency: in Latin the cleft construction had a

more limited use – in terms of frequency and context – and was not grammaticalized. In Latin as well, the construction typically included demonstratives and relatives, in all linguistic varieties and at all times, cf.:

(60) Plaut. *Curc*. 656: *hic est, quem ego tibi misi natali die*
'this is what I sent to you for your birthday'

(61) Vulg. *Matth*. 15,20: *haec sunt, quae coinquinant hominem*
'these are the things that defile a human being'

(62) Plaut. *Cas*. 213: *quis est quem vides*?
'who is it that you see?'

(63) Vulg. *Luc*. 22,23: *coeperunt quaerere inter se, quis ex eis, qui hoc facturus esset*
'they started to discuss among themselves who it would be that should do that'

Cleft constructions including a noun or a pronoun are relatively rare in Latin, probably, as Löfstedt assumes, because Latin had other devices to put emphasis on the noun (word order variation) and because the use of a pronoun in itself already was emphatic (Löfstedt 1966: 276). In other words, the forerunner of the cleft construction in Latin had limited use. Its equivalent in the Romance languages not only includes a greater variety of grammatical elements, its frequency is higher, and the forms are more grammaticalized: in French for example, morphological variation is severely restricted, as the use of the present tense is almost exclusive (*c'est* vs. *ce fut*, which is extremely rare), and there is no modal variety. In addition, more and more often there is no number agreement, cf. *c'est* with a plural noun or pronoun is spreading in today's Spoken Standard French (instead of *ce sont* … [see Grevisse 1993: 1321]). Finally, the cleft construction is also possible in combination with adverbs, which shows that *que* no longer functions as a full-fledged relative pronoun (e.g., *c'est ainsi qu'il faut le faire* 'this is the way to do it').

The syntactic spread of the structure and its grammaticalization both reflect increasing use. Löfstedt is right in ascribing the inclusion of nouns and pronouns in the modern Romance languages and its relatively infrequent occurrence in Latin to the role of word order in both languages: Latin had more variety in terms of word order and therefore the forerunner of the Romance cleft construction was just another device. With the increase of strict word

order in the Romance languages, cleft constructions have become one of the main devices to express emphasis.

3.2.3 Discontinuous constituents

There is another phenomenon that is quite common in Latin and may explain the tenaciously maintained idea that Latin word order is indiscriminately free: discontinuous constituents. The phenomenon so far has not received the attention in diachronic linguistics that it deserves. We have already referred to the link that traditionally has been established between inflection and word order: it has been assumed for a long time that because of the case system, word order in Latin was free and that with the loss of case it became fixed because the position of a given element in the clause indicated its function. In other words, the importance of inflection was referred to in terms of the relation between a constituent and its context, e.g., the relation between a verb or a preposition and its complement, or a noun phrase with instrumental function and the rest of the clause. Another function was inadvertently kept out of the scope of research: agreement has not been taken into account, even if this characteristic as well affects word order patterns. Agreement expresses the grammatical relation (attribution) between elements of the same constituent (see also Herman 1985: 346; see Bhat [1994] on the typological implications of adjectival agreement in languages).

Because of agreement patterns, constituents in Latin could be discontinuous for literary, emphatic, or pragmatic reasons (or a combination thereof). Since agreement is a nominal category, disjunction typically affects noun phrases, prepositional phrases (because they include noun phrases), and verb phrases to the extent that they include a noun phrase.

3.2.3.1 Discontinuous prepositional phrases. In his analysis of Latin word order, Marouzeau (1949: 36–63, 1953) distinguishes between “anteposition”, “postposition”, and “interposition” of the adposition. Whereas in anteposition the adposition normally precedes its noun in direct juxtaposition (with a few exceptions mainly involving the clitics *-que* and *-ue*), and postposition is exceptional, involving an archaism (cf. Section 2) or adpositions of nominal

origin, interposition at first glance seems to be rather arbitrary.[7] Yet there are characteristics that suggest that the situation is more systematic than it may seem. First, there is a numerical difference between interposition of the adposition between elements that have the same grammatical status (elements in coordination) and those that do not. Cf.:

(64) Hor. *epist*. 1,4,12: *timores inter et iras*
'between fear and anger'

Examples of this type are rare and greatly surpassed in number by instances of interposition that include elements that are in a dependency relation, such as a noun and an adjective or a noun and a genitive. Of these there are two types. The first type are those – attested mainly in poetry and stylish prose from the Augustan period on – in which the noun comes first:

(65) Lucr. 3,1088: *tempore de mortis*
'from the time of the dead'

(66) Plaut. *Pseud*. 174: *viris cum summis*
'with the highest men'

(67) Plaut. *Asin*. 187: *damno cum magno*
'with great damage'

The other variety is much more frequent, is found in all periods, and also occurs in the spoken language, albeit not very frequently, cf.:

(68) Enn. *ann*. 482: *tristi cum corde*
'With a sad heart > sad at heart'

It is frequent in contexts including a relative pronoun, cf.:

(69) Caes. *Gall*. 6,22,3: *qua ex re factiones dissensionesque nascuntur*
'from which problem factions and quarrels may arise'

7. "Interposition" here refers to the situation in which the adposition has been inserted inside a noun phrase or group of nouns; this situation is different from that in which an element has been inserted between the adposition and the noun (discussed in the next section).

This type of discontinuous constituent is much more widespread because of the elements involved: in constructions of the first type it is the adposition that follows its complement, which is an exceptional sequence; in the second variety the adposition precedes its complement in regular order and it is the complement of the noun that is not in juxtaposition and therefore takes an exceptional position. Most instances include an adjective, which is in accordance with the tendency of the adjective to occur in marked frontal position. Similarly, relative pronouns tend to occur in clause-initial position, which explains the number of instances including that element. A fair number of occurrences have a genitive; in these the genitive typically has the form of a relative pronoun, cf.:

(70) Caes. *Gall.* 2,15,3: *quorum de natura moribusque*
'about the nature and habits of these'

It is important to note that in the most common type of disjunction it is the adposition that precedes the noun in direct juxtaposition and that the adjective or the relative pronoun takes a position outside the prepositional phrase. Consequently, it is not the adposition that presents the behavior "de l'incohérence et du caprice" (Marouzeau 1949: 63), but the nominal modifiers (see also Bauer 1995: 132–136).

See in this regard Vincent (1999), who characterizes APN sequences as SpecifierPN combinations, in which the Specifier may be an adjectival or adverbial element (e.g., *bene ante lucem* 'well before sunrise' [Vincent 1999: 1128]), and who relates the development of these sequences to the evolution of syntactic configurationality.

3.2.3.2 Discontinuous noun phrases. Disjunction is most common in noun phrases, but it is clear that with time the phenomenon became less widespread. In an important article Herman (1985) presents diachronic statistical data that we briefly repeat here. Disjunction is very rare in Cato; in Caesar the incidence is approximately 25 %; in Cicero's letters *Ad Familiares* 15–20 % of all NPs including an adjective have disjunction; in the *Tusculanae Disputationes* the incidence is approximately 30%; in Petronius's narrative parts 22 % of the NPs have disjunction; this is down to 4 % in fragments of the spoken language; in the letters of Claudius Terentianus disjunction is very rare (Herman 1985: 347–353).

Table 1. Results of the analysis of NPs and PPs in selected text fragments

Text	Total NPs	Number of discontinuous NPs		Total PPs	Number of discontinuous PPs	
Cato (Ch. 6–9)	40	1	(2.5%)	29	0	(0%)
Caesar (Ch. 6.13–19)	123	39	(31.7%)	48	14	(29%)
Apicius (various fragments)	58	8	(13.7%)	41	15	(36%)
Petronius (Ch. 36–38)	48	6	(12.5%)	21	2	(9.2%)

With time there are not only numerical changes; the nature of the elements that are inserted changes as well. Herman found that in early times these elements were in a close grammatical dependency relation with one of the elements of the noun phrase: a genitive, an adjectival complement, a prepositional phrase, and so forth, cf.:

(71) Cic. *epist.* 13,51,1: *virum bonum* [*tuaque amicitia*] *dignum*
'a good man, worthy [of your friendship]'

Other elements that are inserted – less frequent than the ones of the first group – are those that have no grammatical, but a semantic connection, cf.:

(72) Cic. *epist.* 13,6,2: *hac tibi epistula*
'with this letter to you"

The third group of elements inserted in noun phrases are invariables, such as adverbs. Generally they have anaphoric value: *enim, autem, praesertim*, and so forth. Finally, in one of twenty instances the element that has been inserted is a verb (Herman 1985).

My own analysis of noun phrases and prepositional phrases of several fragments of texts brought up the patterns shown in Table 1.

NPs include genitives as well as adjectives, but on the whole the very large majority of discontinuous NPs include an adjective. Of the six discontinuous noun phrases in Petronius, for example, only one includes a [N [...]

G] combination; all others are [A [. . .] N] or [N [. . .] A] sequences. The single example in Cato involves an adjective as well; the disjunctive NPs in Apicius all include an adjective (or perfective participle). In Caesar, eleven instances include a genitive, ten of which have the order [G [. . .] N], cf.:

(73) Caes. *Gall.* 6,14,2: *omniumque rerum habent immunitatem*
'and they have an exemption from all these matters'

The elements inserted between the genitive and its head noun indeed specify elements of the noun phrase. They can be rather lengthy, such as a relative clause, and most often the verb *habeo* is included, usually as a single form (Caes. *Gall.* 6,23,4: *vitae necisque habeant potestatem* 'they have the power of life and death'), but also in combination with a perfective participle, cf.:

(74) Caes. *Gall.* 6,16,1: *eiusdem generis habent instituta sacrificia*
'they have established sacrifices of that same kind'

NPs including an adjective in Caesar typically have a sequence [A [. . .] N] as well (only three exceptions) and the elements inserted specify either the adjective or the noun and are in a grammatical relation with that element, e.g., genitives or demonstratives, or do not have this grammatical dependency, but are semantically related, cf.:

(75) Caes. *Gall.* 6,13,8: *qui summam inter eos habet auctoritatem*
'who has the highest authority among them'

In this category we also find nouns referring to the underlying subject (in instances with a perfective participle). Other instances include a verb (often *habeo*) or the subject of the clause. Sometimes we find a combination of both types of insertion, as in:

(76) Caes. *Gall.* 6,13,4: *magnoque hi sunt apud eos honore*
'they hold them in high esteem'

The discontinuous examples in Apicius exclusively are [A [. . .] N] / [N [. . .] A] sequences. The inserted segments in Apicius typically are shorter than those in Caesar and they often include a genitive (1 example), a participle (2 examples), a verb that is inserted in its own direct object (1 example), and most often a short prepositional phrase specifying the participle, cf.:

(77) Apic. 3,4: *sole in ariete posito*
'when the sun is positioned in Aries'

We find similar examples in Petronius (36,4: *plausum a familia inceptum*), but also an example with an inserted subject, and several with an inserted invariable element (Petron. 38,6: *autem*, Petron. 38,16: *quoque*). This corresponds to Herman's findings in the *Itinerarium Egeriae*: many of the elements inserted in that text are short invariable elements. The single example in Cato in the corpus analyzed is a short invariable element as well (*agr.* 8,1: *si*). On the whole insertion is more common in AN phrases than in NA phrases.

The discontinuous prepositional phrases found in these texts are of two types: (A) those in which the preposition is separated from the noun (found only in Caesar and Petronius in my sample), and (B) those in which the preposition and noun are in juxtaposition but the other (dependent) elements are in disjunction. Instances of type (B) are in fact a variety of discontinuous NP. The instances of category (A) in Petronius typically include a genitive, cf.:

(78) Petron. 37,8: *in ostiarii illius cella*
'in the storeroom of that door-keeper'

Of the fourteen instances in Caesar, eleven are of category (A); in the three remaining ones the element specifying the noun precedes the prepositional phrase proper. The elements inserted in examples of category (A) are either grammatically dependent elements (e.g., genitives; seven instances), or an adjective in combination with a verb, adverb, or genitive.

Data from both Herman's analysis and my own show (1) that NP disjunction is found at all stages in all registers of Latin; (2) that Early Latin and Vulgar Latin prose documents have significantly fewer instances; (3) that as a rule the more literary the document the more commonly we find disjunction; (4) that the phenomenon became less frequent with time; (5) that its decrease is parallel to the increase of VO patterns; (6) that the insertion patterns themselves were not arbitrary: most commonly we find elements that are either syntactically (e.g., genitive) or semantically related to the noun phrase; (7) that other elements could be inserted as well – adverbs, verbs, subjects – but were not very often included; (8) that the inserted elements change with time as well: they become shorter and less complex as reflected in the short prepositional phrases in Apicius; (9) that the disjunctive phrases form cohe-

sive entities in that the two composing element ([A [...] N]; [G [...] N]) are at either side of the constituent; (10) that according to my own findings, disjunctive noun phrases typically have the sequence [A [...] N] ([G [...] N] if it includes a genitive); this aspect has not been taken into account by Herman (1985).

3.2.3.3 Discontinuous constructions including a verb. Similar patterns are found in the analysis of perfective participle + *habeo* constructions. Analyzing the ordering patterns of 142 randomly chosen examples (from Plautus to Cato to Livy) of sentences including a direct object, a perfective participle, and *habeo*, we found that 96 had the pattern [direct object – perfective participle – *habeo*]. Of these only 18 were in direct juxtaposition, 22 had the direct object and the participle in juxtaposition; 47 had the perfective participle and *habeo* in juxtaposition. In this last group, the direct object and the participle are separated and it is significant that in the vast majority of these instances, the element inserted specifies either the noun or the participle, cf.:

(79) Cato *agr.* 5,6: *boves maxima diligentia curatos habeto*
'one should make sure that the oxen are looked after with the greatest care'

where *maxima diligentia* specifies the situation of the action expressed by the participle (*curatos*)
or:

(80) Cic. *Verr.* 2,5,74: *metum iudicii propositum habere*
'to have the fear of a trial pointed out'

where *iudicii* is the genitive complement of *metus*.

In instances in which the direct object and the participle are in juxtaposition, but separated from the finite verb, the elements inserted had no grammatical or semantic relation with the noun phrase; the majority of the elements in question were adverbial (or the subject of the clause; for more details, see Bauer 2006).

3.2.3.4 Discontinuous constituents: preliminary conclusions. Analysis of three types of structure has shown that discontinuous constituents represent

indeed a type of word order that was relatively wide-spread. It is clear, however, that some varieties of Latin were more receptive to the phenomenon than others. In all probability it was a relatively rare structure in the spoken language (in terms of frequency and type) and more frequent in sophisticated registers. It is clear, as well, that disjunction has been used in many literary processes in high standard Latin literature (for an overview of these phenomena, see Hofmann & Szantyr 1965). Yet if indeed there is variation, data in this section also have shown that there is a system in the patterns that we find: the variation found in prepositional phrases is not abitrary and the disjunctive noun phrases are confined entities within which certain patterns are found as well.

3.3 Interplay of suprasegmental features and word order

We obviously do not know how Latin sentences originally were delivered, but certain phenomena attested in Latin documents are rooted in the relation between word order and prosody. This section analyzes prosodic features involved in the occurrence of certain elements in specific positions and in the development of specific sequences. Of special interest in this context are clitic pronouns, which in Romance are juxtaposed to the verb ("verb based"); their mobility in Latin on the other hand is not arbitrary and changes seem to be related to the spread of VO patterns. Moreover, prosodic factors seem to be involved directly as well in the chronology of word order change, and therefore need to be taken into consideration: at early stages in the shift to VO, the length of the complement played an important role.

Questions that will be addressed therefore are the relevance and diachronic implications of Wackernagel's Law and of Behaghel's Law. A revised version of Wackernagel's Law is of vital importance in the discussion about the place of unaccented personal pronouns in Latin. It is striking that the patterns to which one could refer in terms of a revised Wackernagel's Law are closely connected to the disappearing patterns of discontinuous constituents. Similarly, Behaghel's Law plays a prominent role in the historical shift to VO sequences.

3.3.1 A revised version of Wackernagel's Law

In 1892, Wackernagel defined a law that accounted for the place of weakly accented or unaccented elements, e.g., particles or pronouns, in early Indo-European sentences: these typically occur in sentence-second position, attaching themselves to the first element in the form of an enclitic. While Wackernagel focused on (Homeric) Greek (1892: 333–402) and from there generalized the principle, the law had been first formulated for Greek pronouns by Bergaigne in 1877 and shortly after that for clitics in general in early Indic prose by Delbrück (1878: 47) and by Bartholomae in 1883 (Wackernagel 1892: 402–403). The law subsequently has been attested in other early Indo-European languages. In many instances linguists have interpreted Wackernagel's Law as a mechanical rule, assuming that it occurs under given syntactic conditions without consistently analyzing exceptional cases or taking into account the specific functions of the elements involved, such as the host. It also has been interpreted as an absolute law (hence the commonly added remark in definitions of Wackernagel's Law: "enclitics occur in second or almost second position" [cf. Adams 1994: 108 for examples]). More recently, many Wackernagel's Law phenomena also have been analyzed in studies on clitics, see for example Zwicky (1977), Kaisse (1985), Bennett (1986, 1987), or Wanner (1987).

Traditionally the development of weak pronoun position from Latin to Romance has been summarized as a shift from Wackernagel's second position in the sentence in Latin to verb-based position in Romance, whereby the pronoun occurs as an enclitic or proclitic (see, e.g., already Thurneysen 1892). Several linguists assume an early Romance stage at which the pronoun supposedly followed the finite verb before it came to precede the verb and they believe a shift took place of the type *amat me* > *me amat* (e.g., Meyer-Lübke 1897; Lerch 1934).

Recent and not-so-recent analyses of Wackernagel phenomena in Latin and the Romance scenario suggest, however, that a revision of the law may be in order. This revision so far has come about in three successive moves. In a series of important publications, Fraenkel (1932, 1933, 1964) argued that sentences in Latin could be divided in so-called "cola", that is syntactic entities (constituents) of three to four words, and that unaccented elements

tend to occur in the second position of a given colon, not necessarily the first one; cf., for example:

(81) Caes. *civ.* 2,26,1: *his rebus gestis Curio se in castra ... recipit*
'when this business was taken care of, Curio retreated to the camp ...'
(Habinek 1985: 6)

Ablative absolutes, prepositional phrases, extended subjects, extended objects, AcI's, lengthy ablatives of manner, and appositives could function as a colon. Fraenkel's findings did not immediately trigger research on similar phenomena in other early Indo-European languages. Habinek (1985), however, has put forth external evidence for the existence of cola in Latin prose: he found evidence of it in quotation practices and in punctuation patterns in inscriptions and other documents. Although few Latin documents have any systematic punctuation, punctuation itself is remarkably consistent across the different variants of a given document: if different versions of a sentence punctuate at locations X and Y, some documents may have both, others may have punctuation only at location X, and others only at location Y. But none will have punctuation at different locations (see Habinek [1985: 42–88] for an extensive discussion). Groups of words that are marked with punctuation are those that have been identified as cola elsewhere: relative clauses, ablative absolutes, prepositional phrases, appositives, and so forth (Habinek 1985: 64). These systematic patterns and the parallels with identified cola show that the colon indeed was a reality in Latin.

Similarly, patterns in quotations (e.g., fragments of Cicero quoted by Aulus Gellius) further support the observation that syntactically related elements within a Latin sentence could form a subgroup (see Habinek 1985: 89–126).

In a more recent article, Adams (1994) elaborated on Fraenkel's approach and confirming the basic assumptions has developed what one might call a substantially revised version of Wackernagel's Law. He found that many instances of pronominal placement do not follow a mechanical interpretation of Wackernagel's Law and that these instances were more consistent than had been assumed so far: if personal pronouns in Latin – as well as unaccented forms of the copula/auxiliary 'be' – do not occur in the second position of the

first colon, they follow the element in the sentence that is focused, whether it introduces a colon or not, cf.:

(82) Cic. *Att.* 7,2,6: *de triumpho autem // nulla me cupiditas umquam tenuit*
'but as far as triumph is concerned, no desire ever held me'
(Adams 1994: 106)

In other words, "the focus might be said to attract the clitic pronoun regardless of the place of that focus in the colon" (Adams 1994: 112). Yet since focused elements tend to occur in sentence-initial position, unaccented pronouns and the auxiliary/copula 'be' predominantly tend to occur in sentence-second position (hence Wackernagel's Law), cf.:

(83) Caes., *Gall.* 1,1: *Gallia est omnis divisa* ...
'all Gaul is divided ...'

If they occur later in the sentence, they follow an element that has emphasis, viz. a negative; cf. the example given above:

(84) Cic. *Cael.* 43: *ex quibus neminem mihi libet nominare*
'from which it is pleasing to me to name no one'

The nature of the host therefore is of vital importance in the placement of unaccented pronouns and should be taken into account in the evaluation of Wackernagel's Law in other early Indo-European languages as well: "... it is often the place of an influential host, not a structural rule of second-position placement, which determines enclitic position" (Adams 1994: 112).

In an extensive analysis of numerous instances, Adams found that the following elements function as hosts to unaccented pronouns in non-initial position in Classical Latin (1994: 113–130):

– Antithetical terms, cf.:

(85) Cic. *Catil.* 2,11: *non* ***publico*** *me praesidio, sed* ***priuata*** *diligentia defendi*
'not by public protection, but by private diligence did I defend myself'

– Demonstratives/deictic elements, cf.:

(86) Cic. *Att.* 11,25,3: *tamen* ***hoc*** *me magis sollicitat quam omnia*
'this nevertheless troubles me more than everything else'

– Adjectives of quality or quantity, cf.:

(87) Liv. 36,7,16: *et qui* ***maximus*** *iis terror est*
'and, a man who is the greatest fear to them'

– Intensifiers, cf.:

(88) Cic. *Att.* 5,16,2: *taedet* ***omnino*** *eos uitae*
'they are totally tired of life'

– Negatives, cf.:

(89) [=84] Cic. *Cael.* 43: *ex quibus* ***neminem*** *mihi libet nominare*
'from which it is pleasing to me to name no one'

– Temporal adverbs, cf.:

(90) Cato *agr.* 71,18: *dato* ***continuo*** *ei unum ouum gallinaceum crudum*
'give him at once one chicken's egg raw'

– Imperatives, cf.:

(91) Cato *agr.* 40,3: *postea* ***capito*** *tibi surculum*
'afterwards take a branch to yourself'

Consequently, unaccented pronouns in Latin, instead of being placed "mechanically" in the second position of the sentence, are often attached to a particular type of host: "what these hosts have in common is their focused character" (Adams 1994: 131).

It is noteworthy that in line with the preference for discontinuous constituents found in Latin texts (Section 3.2.3), the placement of unaccented pronouns may indeed split up constituents, especially noun phrases including an adjective and a noun. When the adjective is emphasized, the personal pronoun will follow the adjective; cf. example (92), given earlier as (85):

(92) [=85] Cic. *Catil.* 2,11: *non* ***publico*** *me* ***praesidio****, sed priuata diligentia defendi*
'not by public protection, but by private diligence did I defend myself'

In these contexts as well, Adams (1994: 132–140) found that the hosts are of the type mentioned in the preceding paragraphs; cf. the following example including a demonstrative:

(93) Cic. *Catil.* 1,18: *atque hunc mihi timorem eripe*
'take this fear away from me'

These regularities in fact further confirm the patterns revealed in our section on the "functional load" of word order, the more so since here again we observe that in discontinuous noun phrases the adjective or genitive typically comes first, preceding the head noun (Section 3.2.3). The subsequent change fits the overall development we pointed out earlier in this chapter: with the gradual disappearance of discontinuous constituents, the unaccented personal pronoun more and more came to occur after the first constituent *in toto* and not after its first – focused – element, cf. Adams (1994: 162):

(94) Petron. 33,1: *omnem uoluptatem mihi negaui*
'I denied myself all pleasure'

vs. the earlier example (82) from Cicero:

(95) [=82] Cic. *Att.* 7,2,6: *nulla me cupiditas umquam tenuit*
'no desire has ever held me'

At the same time, two other phenomena are observed in more popular texts: the direct object increasingly came to follow the finite verb (Adams 1977a: 91–95; Bauer 1995: 97–103, *passim*) and clauses became shorter. As a result the personal pronoun, even if it did not change position, more and more was moved in the direction of the finite verb, often creating "accidental juxtaposition" (Adams 1994: 161, 162ff.), cf.:

(96) *omnem mihi uoluptatem negaui*

gives way to the type:

(97) [=94] Petron. 33,1: *omnem uoluptatem mihi negaui*
'I denied myself all pleasure'

It is Adams's contention "that while clitic-pronoun placement in these texts points the way towards an interpretation of some Romance developments, the principle of placement at work was not merely a tendency for pronouns to be juxtaposed with the verb" (Adams 1994: 158). The Romance verb-based pronoun system gradually emerged not because the pronoun as such changed places, but because other elements did – a phenomenon more common in the development of word order – the new sequence subsequently was reanalyzed (*pater-nos amat* becoming *pater nos-amat*) and then grammaticalized (for a discussion of early Romance data, cf. Ramsden 1963; Wanner 1987).

3.3.2 The Gesetz der wachsenden Glieder *(Behaghel's Law)*

In 1909, Behaghel formulated on the basis of evidence from Greek, Latin, and German what was to become "das Gesetz der wachsenden Glieder" (Behaghel's [Fourth] Law). According to this law, elements that have the same grammatical status ("Erweiterungsgruppen" [enlargement group]; Behaghel 1909: 110) are ordered in such a way that the longer element comes last in a sequence. Behaghel states "so bildet sich unbewusst in den Sprachen … die Neigung, vom kurzen zum längerem Glied überzugehen … " [thus there develops unconsciously in languages … the tendency to go from a short element to a longer one …] (Behaghel 1909: 139). In this section, I will first discuss the relevance of this principle within Latin syntax as we observe it in literary as well as vulgar documents. I subsequently will discuss the effects of this law for the diachronic change of word order. It is my contention that the Law not only plays a role at the synchronic level and between elements with similar syntactic status, but that it also is an underlying factor in word order change involving elements in a dependency relation.

Behaghel's Law has a long history, as early *dvandva*-compounds in Indo-European, which are based on coordination, illustrate, cf.:

(98) Skt. *índrāváruṇā*
'Indra and Varuṇa'

Moreover, the phenomenon is attested in prose and poetry – in German,

Greek, and Latin – and involves the same type of elements (e.g., especially adjectives, nouns, or verbs). It therefore is not merely a matter of metrics, but rather a more general tendency found in other languages as well, as examples of the following type show:

(99) Eng. *they talk about me and my work*

but not:

(100) *they talk about my work and me*

Similarly,

(101) Fr. *ils parlent de moi et de mon travail*

(102) Ger. *sie sprechen über mich und meine Arbeit*

and the corresponding Latin:

(103) Plaut. *Men.* 479: *loquitur de me et de parte mea?*
'is he talking about me and my part?'

Since this is a more general tendency, it is found in spoken registers in a variety of languages, but also in highly stylistic fragments with strong rhetorical overtones. These observations are further supported by Southern's (2000) insightful analysis of the effect of Behaghel's Law on binomials and triadic structures in various historical stages of Indo-European – especially Germanic – languages (including today's languages) as reflected in extensive occurrences in Indo-European poetics as well as folk discourse and child language.

Extensive analysis by Behaghel (1909) himself and by scholars like Lindholm (1931) have shown that the Law is also very productive in Latin, in documents of all types. The process obviously is used for rhetorical purposes, whereby increasing length may be iconic of climax building, e.g.:

(104) Cic. *Verr.* 2,5,34: *contra fas, contra auspicia, contra omnes divinas atque humanas religiones*
'against divine law, against the auspices, against all that is sacred, divine and human'
(Hofmann & Szantyr 1965: 721)

The tendency is also attested in archaic prayers and in early law texts, cf.:

(105) Cato *agr.* 141,2: *mihi domo familiaeque nostrae*
'for me, my house, and my household'

(106) Cato *agr.* 141,2: ... *fruges, frumenta, vineta virgultaque* ...
'... fruits of the earth, grains, vineyards, and bushes ...'

(107) *Lex XII tab.* 1,2: ... *morbus aevitasve* ...
'... illness or age ...'

It is found in plays of Plautus as well, cf.:

(108) Plaut. *Men.* 891: ... *veternus aut aqua intercus* ...
'... old age or fluid under the skin ...'

Just as the Law is attested in different registers and styles, it is well attested in Early Latin, but was more frequent in Classical Latin, and is well represented in vulgar and later documents. In a comprehensive analysis based on extensive data, Lindholm (1931) gives an overview of the phenomenon in various documents representing the different stages and registers of Latin (see also Hofmann & Szantyr 1965: 722–726). Subsequently Feix's analysis of Petronius's language underscores the fact that the phenomenon was widespread in the spoken language of educated as well as uneducated Romans. He specifically includes groups in his analysis, finding that Behaghel's Law is frequent in Petronius's vulgar fragments, for which he finds a parallel in vulgar inscriptions (Feix 1934: 75–79), cf.:

(109) Petron. 42,5: *aquam in os suum non coniecit, non micam panis*
'he did not bring water to his lips, not a crumb of bread'

(110) Petron. 39,6: *calcitrosi nascuntur et bubulci et qui se ipsi pascunt*
'both cattle-drivers and those who feed themselves are born kicking'

Analysis of Latin therefore shows that the Law is a phenomenon found in registers ranging from the spoken language to highly literary texts where it is used for rhetorical and stylistic purposes.

The corpora of data show that the principle turns out to be applicable to various categories. First, it applies to elements of identical syntactic status, like two nouns, adjectives, adverbs, or verbs in coordination, as in:

– Nouns:

(111) Plaut. *Men*. 137: *o mea Commoditas, o mea Opportunitas*
'o my Kindness, o my Opportunity'

– Adverbs:

(112) Plaut. *Amph*. 349: *bene pudiceque*
'well and chaste'

– Verbs:

(113) Plaut. *Amph*. 191: *uictum atque expugnatum*
'conquered and captured'

Second, the principle underlying Behaghel's original Law is valid in a different type of construction as well: the elements in question may have the same syntactic and semantic function but different syntactic structures, e.g., an inflectional form vs. a prepositional phrase:, cf.:

(114) Plaut. *Men*. 273: *bene opsonaui atque ex mea sententia*
'I did some good marketing and according to my taste'

In this example, *bene* and the prepositional phrase have the same function, but *bene* is one inflected form whereas the *ex* construction is a lengthy prepositional phrase. The length of the elements determines their relative sequence. Similarly an adjective and a genitive may be combined, as in:

(115) Plaut. *Men*. 269: *ego … homo iracundus, animi perditi*
'I am an angry man, of hopeless temper'

Furthermore, subject inversion often involves a lengthy subject (Section 3.2.1). Consequently, Behaghel's Law does not exclusively apply to identical elements in pure syntactic coordination.

The general principle underlying the tendency to have the longer element follow in coordination may also be effective in the word order change that took place in groups based on a hierarchical relation. It is not my contention that the length of complements accounts for the shift OV > VO: if it would explain that change, then it would be legitimate to ask why OV structures with

lengthy complements would exist in the first place. Looking at the chronology of the shift, however, we find for example that among complements that follow the verb at an early stage in Latin, prepositional phrases – hence lengthy elements – are well represented (cf. Section 3.1; we observe a strong parallel in subordinate clauses in Modern Dutch). In addition, right-branching relative clauses emerged early in Indo-European and right-branching comparative constructions with *quam* are attested from the earliest stages in Latin (as are their equivalents in other Indo-European languages). Similarly, it is striking that the adjective as a short and non-complex element is rather mobile, whereas modern comparatives are rather strict right-branching structures. On the basis of the types of syntactic phrase that change branching at an early stage, the type of complement in early VO sequences, and mobility patterns, we may conclude that length and complexity play an important role in the chronology of the shift (see Bauer [1995: 168–212] for their role in language acquisition).

Analysis of Wackernagel's Law and Behaghel's Law in Latin therefore shows that suprasegmental features are involved in the change of pronominal placement and the chronology of the emergence of VO sequences in the development from Latin to Romance.

4. Conclusion

Latin word order at any given stage presents a predominating system of basic patterns in combination with a number of varieties. In addition, diachronic analysis reveals changes in these basic patterns and the – related – changes in type and spread of variation. From a diachronic perspective, we notice in the history of Latin word order a steady shift from inherited left-branching structures to right-branching ones. As indicated in Section 2, this was a long-term Indo-European development that started well before Latin and that affected the successive structures of the language.

Whereas Proto-Indo-European presumably was a relatively strict left-branching language, allowing very limited variation, and Hittite was relatively strict as well, Latin like Greek allowed more word order varieties which have syntactic or pragmatic motivation.

As a result of this historical development, we have to deal with different types of variation. Some of them are integrated into historical change, which explains, for example, the co-occurrence of *me**cum*** and ***cum** amicis*. Each diachronic layer of the language therefore includes innovative and residual features, which often occur in specific contexts (e.g., the innovative *quam* constructions). Moreover, Latin included variation patterns that can be attributed to stylistics or that are pragmatically or syntactically motivated. Purely stylistic variation patterns as a rule do not survive in later stages; innovative structures on the other hand may originally have pragmatic motivation in the same way that residues may survive conveying specific pragmatic functions (e.g., correlative clauses in Latin, Section 3.1).

The Latin system – probably in part because of its cases – allowed word order variation. It is noteworthy, however, that the variation patterns that we observe are not arbitrary but in fact correspond to other regularities. The adjective in Latin (and Romance for that matter) is a relatively mobile element with unmarked NA vs. marked AN sequences, and it is not by chance that in discontinuous prepositional phrases the preposition and the noun typically are in juxtaposition, whereas the adjective precedes the noun it modifies. In other words, it is not the preposition that is the mobile element, but the adjective. Similarly, it is not by chance that discontinuous noun phrases are largely of the type [A [. . .] N]. Not only are AN sequences possible in Latin; the sequence crosslinguistically seems to have a strong semantic bond (e.g., Ch. Lehmann 1991). More crosslinguistic analysis is needed to analyze to what extent this factor may account for discontinuous constituents. Discontinuous constituents gradually have disappeared, whereas other variation patterns have survived in the Romance languages.

Fronting was an important pragmatic device in Latin. For contextual pragmatic reasons, for reasons of informative relevance, to convey emotions, and so forth, elements of the Latin clause could be fronted. In addition, specific syntactic conditions could cause the fronting of the verb. It is striking that the initial verb survived in Romance, but that (with the exception of directive speech) the individual languages have their own specific uses for it: it is mainly pragmatically motivated in Spanish, but syntactically motivated in French, where the SVO tendency is stronger.

The situation of the cleft construction is slightly different: its forerunners are attested in Latin, where they had their own characteristics and were not

very widespread. In Romance the construction has become – to different degrees in the different languages – more common and has been grammaticalized. This may be related to the fact that "plain" word order is much stricter in Romance than in Latin and that in the Romance languages, cleft constructions have become an important pragmatic device.

Word order analyses typically focus on nominal elements: nominal object – verb, nominal genitive – noun, and so forth. As a rule, pronominal elements are not the primary focus of these studies, because prosodic rather than syntactic factors may determine their placement in the clause. Yet an analysis of word order patterns that includes prosodic factors should include pronouns. Pronouns in Romance typically are verb-based and either precede or follow their finite verb; in Latin the situation was different in that they typically follow the focused element of a sentence and assume enclitic characteristics. While Latin syntax presents more word order variation and even allowed for split constituents, pronouns could also be inserted in syntactic constituents. The reorganization of the Latin sentence at the pronominal level shows how the various linguistic changes are connected. The disappearance of discontinuous constituents, the spread of verb – object sequences, and the overall shortening of clauses accounts for the "accidental juxtaposition" of pronouns and finite verbs in Vulgar and Late Latin and early Romance. The verb-based syntactic behavior of pronouns in Romance therefore is not the result of an independent movement of the pronouns themselves, but is the accidental effect of other changes taking place in the Latin clause.

Another phenomenon that has prosodic correlates is Behaghel's Law, which accounts for short – long ordering in sequences including elements of the same syntactic status. The principle underlying this strong crosslinguistic tendency may also be involved in the reorganization of hierarchical constituents: lengthy and complex right-branching complements are early to emerge in the chronology of the shift.

Both phenomena – pronominal placement and Behaghel's Law – further illustrate how syntactic, pragmatic, and prosodic factors are involved in the long-term word order change in Latin and Romance.

Correlation of changes is manifest elsewhere as well. Parallel to the spreading of right-branching structures and the gradual disappearance of left-branching ones, word order and juxtaposition indeed became stricter. The exact link between nominal inflection and loss of variability is not clear. It

is clear, however, that disjunctive constructions as we find them in Latin are only possible in a language that expresses adjective-noun agreement (case/ number/gender). Although agreement still exists in the Romance languages, it is formally and semantically less developed than in Latin.

In Section 3.1, we pointed out the link between the emergence of right-branching morphological structures and changes that took place in other aspects of Latin grammar, i.e., the growing importance of tense distinctions as opposed to aspectual distinctions. Syntactic ordering phenomena as well turn out to be connected to other grammtical changes. Rosén (1994), for example, has pointed out the relation between subject inversion and the emergence of definite articles.

Analysis of basic word order and variation patterns in Latin, therefore, shows that the varieties are not arbitrary phenomena, but in fact are rooted in the basic characteristics of the language and are connected to many other linguistic features. The fundamental change of word order in Latin therefore affected the variation patterns as well.

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Hannah Rosén

Coherence, sentence modification, and sentence-part modification – the contribution of particles

> … attack on the theory that it is normal for a language to establish a lunacy ward in its grammar or lexicon where mindless morphs stare vacantly with no purpose other than to be where they are (Dwight Bolinger, *Meaning and Form*, p. IX)
>
> A certain negligence in the use of particles is desirable. (Demetrius, *On Style* 53, trans. W. Rhys Roberts)

1. Functions and tools

1.1 The classes

Sentential and sentence-part modification as well as textual coherence are most readily achieved in Latin through particles. Far from being mere "explétifs", "vocables parasites", "Füllsel", "Flickwörter" – these and similar designations all going back to Demetrius's, to Dionysius Thrax's and Apollonius Dyscolus's παραπληρωματικοὶ (σύνδεσμοι)[1] – these words can be

1. To a great extent these Greek terms, and certainly the Latin ones *expletiua* (*coniunctio*) Palaemon and Cominianus (apud Char.), Char., Diom., Don., Serv., Prisc., (*particula*) Don., Serv.; *completiua* (*coniunctio*) Prisc.; *repletiua* [ἀναπληρωματικός] (*coniunctio*) Char., Dosith.; *repletiuum* Prisc., are designations given by later scholars to a category of words whose sense and function they were no longer capable of fully grasping – this may be the case also for the comparable Indic term *pādapūraṇa* ('filling the pāda') *nipāta* ('already declined', i.e., 'particle'), employed for partly obsolete Vedic material in metrical context since Yāska (variably dated between the seventh and third century BCE, depending on his being taken as either predecessor or successor of Pāṇini).

described in terms of functions; before delimiting globally this category of function words, a description of particles as distributed over the range of their functions is in order.[2]

Below are four by and large distinguishable (see Sections 1.1.5 and 1.2.2) classes of particles based on four broad functions:

(a) Production of textual coherence (by connectors and connective adverbs);
(b) Discourse organization and communication management;
(c) Modalization and illocutionary identification;
(d) Focus marking.

1.1.1 Connective particles

Class (a) comprises connectors [CON] (such as *et*, *sed*, *immo*, *uerum*, *ergo*) and (anaphorically relating) connective adverbs (such as *tamen*, *contra*, *idcirco*). Members of this class are assignable to one of the two subclasses on the basis of their collocability (see Section 1.3.5), and stand apart also in a series of distributional properties (adverbs are admitted into correlative patterns, into the second of two coordinated clauses, into relative clauses, and some have sentence valence, while connectors, causal ones, may occur in questions opening with '*cur?*' et sim. [Pinkster 1972: 155–164], to which we may add the epitaxis-joining function of connectors [see below, Section 5.1.5.5], not shared by connective adverbs). Also, of the two subsets it is the adverbs that are prone to participate in class (b) (Section 1.1.2) – to the exclusion of adverbials issuing from the connective relative, such as *quare*, *quamobrem*. Both kinds of conjoining elements are, needless to say, just one of the kinds of cohesion-creating tools effective in Latin,[3] but undoubtedly the most explicit and versatile of them all.

2. A description naturally intersecting and overlapping with descriptions of other tools of sentence and sentence-part qualification; cf. chapters on modality (Magni, this work, vol. 2); sentence adverbs (Ricca, this work, vol. 2); coordination (Torrego, this vol.); questions and answers (Brown, Joseph, and Wallace, this vol.).
3. Surveys of the tools of cohesion in Latin and literature in Pinkster 1995 (315–335), Rosén 1999 (160–165).

1.1.2 Discourse markers

The class of discourse and communication markers [DM], class (b), contains items that operate in different modes of discourse, i.e., in the variety of text types belonging to the "histoire", but also to the experiential (eyewitness) narrative, as well as in oral – or rather speech-representing – discourse,[4] which are, broadly speaking, two environments in which sometimes the same particle (e.g. *autem*), and often different particles (e.g. *tum* vs. *nunc* or *igitur* vs. *ergo*), will be found preferentially to operate. Basically temporal exponents of class (b), such as *postea*, *deinde*, are an important tool for conjoining sentences (and also nominal constituents) in competition with the straightforward connective particles of class (a). Ennius's almost archaic diction in his *Euhemerus* (apud Lact. *inst.*) swarms with such temporal indications (*exim*, *tum*, *deinde* – repeatedly – *deinde posterius*, *deinde post haec*) that introduce new players on the divine scene.[5] When striving to demonstrate aberration within simple diction, the auctor ad Herennium transforms a narrative passage of this *genus dicendi attenuatum* (4,14) into paratactically conjoined style, not by typically connective particles, but by – excessively employed – *postea* and *post*.[6] Thus, since discourse markers too (in the narrowest sense of the term) are function words in possession of a noticeable connective force, there exists a not inconsiderable overlapping between class (b) and class (a), especially in (a)'s subclass of adverbial connective particles. It is this partial identity in substance which induces us to include in the treatment of particles both the connectives (a) and the discourse organizers (b), although the former connect propositions, mainly, and the latter are non-propositional. But despite this overlapping, which is the most persuasive

4. I cannot concur with approaches such as that represented in Kroon (1995), which assign different meanings to one and the same particle according to the text type and discourse mode in which it figures.
5. Concatenating temporal indications in imitation of the Greek model, but marking Ennian style of translation (Norden 1913: 375–376).
6. 4,16: *nam istic in balineis accessit ad hunc.* ***postea*** *dicit: … .* ***postea*** *dicit hic illi: … .* ***post*** *ille conuicium fecit et … clamauit.* See Norden (1913: 377), and Trenkner (1960: 75, 81–82) who brilliantly expounded (pp. 12–13) the analogous use of Gk. εἶτα, ἔπειτα et sim.

argument in favor of conceiving of (b) as part of (a),[7] the discourse markers (b) differ from the solely cohesion-promoting particles (a) in that they define transitions in discourse and in interactive communication, mark continuity and sameness or switch and change (of theme, participant, setting – temporal and local –, activity et sim. or several at once), in short, relate to the literary-narratological or communicatory structure of the text. Being part of the presentational-rhetorical strategy of the author/speaker, as the case may be, they disclose the planning of the discourse, channelling it in the intended direction towards the next step. One of the less noticed applications of discourse marking by particles is that of introducing a reader/listener *in medias res* through typically cohesive particles turning inceptive at the very beginning of a work of poetry or prose (Frischer 1983): *et* (Hand II 494), and also *quoque*, *nam*, *enim* (see n. 16). Discourse markers may also function metalinguistically, explicating the speech act (or utterance act) itself (e.g., *nam* ... 'I say that because ... ' *OLD* s.v., 5, analogous to *quoniam* or Fr. *puisque* in the domain of subordinating conjunction [Fugier 1989]). Possibly, juxtaposed or intercalated explicit predications (*tibi dico*, *narro tibi* et sim.) also assume such a discourse-organizational role,[8] but their interrelationship with particles as discourse markers in Latin is not yet ascertained (see Section 6, "Outlook"). Again, particles may even serve in dramatic texts in lieu of stage directions. Since discourse markers may pertain to diverse hosting units, and thus to text chunks of varying volume (chapter, paragraph, sentence, a stretch of give-and-take in dialogue, a single turn or move, parenthetic expression), members of the two classes (a) and (b) differ also as to their scope. As a result, often a sequence of a representative of class (b) and one of class (a), also when the two are semantically related, will be found in sentence-initial position (such as *tum postea* 'then later on'; cf. on the possibility of pleonasm below, Section 4.3 (vi)).

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7. Viz. considering discourse markers merely in their connective capacity; see discussion in Mosegaard-Hansen (1998: 70–73). In a similar vein, Caroline Kroon (1995) dubs any Latin particle that is a coherence indicator a discourse marker, presumably out of a conception that any proposition is also a chunk of discourse.
8. As was shown for (addressee-oriented) expressions of this kind – previously discussed only for their affective (Hofmann [1936] 1951 passim) and illocutionary (Risselada 1989, 1993: 242–258) functions – for Greek by Shalev (2001: 551–558).

We should add that particles or combinations thereof will not be seen to function as full-fledged discourse markers unless conventionalized, or at least recurrent in a certain discourse mode, or else in a certain text type, literary genre, or personal style. *Interea*, while attested early on (Livius Andronicus) in the sense of 'meanwhile' (trag. 26: *puerum interea ancillae subdam … meae* 'Meanwhile I'll place the boy beneath my slave girl'), cannot be deemed a genuine function word prior to Terentius, who first uses it regularly to ensure continuity (even occasionally following a prominent break: *Eun*. 124–125: *sed sine me peruenire quo uolo. interea miles …* 'But let me come to my point. Then a soldier … '). Full-fledged discourse markers are, e.g., *nunc* when initiating a new move in dramatic dialogue (Lodge, *Lexicon Plautinum*, s.v., B) or Caesar's *interim* (Chausserie-Laprée 1969: 30–31) signifying sameness of setting, Virgil's and Livy's *tum uero* (id. 530–531) signaling the introduction of a passionate and intense new activity onto the scene, Apuleius's *denique* 'so; then' (Bernhard 1927: 127), or *ergo* 'so' in the *Itinerarium Egeriae*. Other temporal adverbs, such as *repente* 'all of a sudden' (cf. Torrego 2005), while signaling temporal change and thus participating in the organization of the storyline, constitute an integral part of the propositional level; as long as conventionalization is not made evident, their role in discourse marking is doubtful.

1.1.3 Modalizers

Modalizing particles [MP], class (c),[9] nuance the modality of a proposition, that is to say, they convey the writer/speaker's view and estimate of its validity and actuality as well as of its relevance to the current situation or immediate context. Considerably more than German modalizing particles (cf. Ickler 1994: 366–367), the majority of Latin particles of this class are compatible with a number of sentence types. Modal particles also clarify the writer/speaker's emotional state and intention; such modalizers are apt to

9. Current in Latin no less than, say, in French or in German, languages in which the phenomenon of modalizing through (shading or coloring) particles has been receiving attention for long (Hosch 1895), and has seen a prodigious surge in the 1970s and 1980s, beginning with Weydt's 1969 and his student Krivonosov's 1963 (publ. Kriwonossow 1977) dissertations.

sharpen the expression of intention in varying degrees up to redefining, in their extreme and most effective function, illocutionary values in that they alter for a given hosting sentence the prototypical speech-act quality of its specific sentence type.[10] This is considerably common in Latin with the directive illocutionary force, which to a great extent widens its sphere by drawing upon modalizing particles such as *amabo*, *quaeso*, et sim.

As for modalizers issuing from verbs of mental state (*sentio*, *existimo*, *credo*, . . .), various syntactic criteria (+ or − complements, + or − subordination by *ut*, + or − emphatic *ego* or (*e*)*quidem*) make of these parenthetical *verba sentiendi* a heterogeneous group, *credo* being the most "particle-like" of them (Bolkestein 1998a, 1998b: 11–15). From among the Latin particles it is the modal ones – and notably *credo* – that will be found to be employed ironically, thus reversing the positive or negative purport of sentences (*OLD* s.v. *credo*, 8c):

(1) Cic. *Catil.* 1,5: *si te iam, Catilina, . . . interfici iussero,* ***credo****, erit uerendum mihi, ne* ***non*** *hoc potius omnes boni serius a me . . . factum esse dica[n]t . . .*
'If I shall finally now order you, Catilina, . . . to be executed, I shall have to fear, I suppose, **not** that all respectable and loyal citizens may say that I acted too late [= all respectable and loyal citizens will certainly say that I acted too late] . . . (But for a certain reason I cannot yet bring myself to do what I should have done already long ago).'

Latin modal particles, especially those of the affirming type, tend to cluster, not so much with one another as with interjections (*hercle uero, hercle sane, profecto hercle,* (*ede*)*pol profecto*, *nempe edepol*, . . .), as in Plaut *Cas.* 912a ***profecto*** ('for sure') ***hercle*** ('by Hercules') *non fuit quicquam holerum* ('it was no vegetable whatsoever'). Data as to frequency and distribution have not been collated.

10. Attitudinal sentence adverbs (see Ricca, this work, vol. 2) are functionally related, as is negation.

1.1.4 Focus markers

Focus marking is obtained, inter alia, by an array of particles [FM], class (d), which highlight one of the sentence constituents – or occasionally a secondary component of a constituent (adnominal attribute, adverbal adverb; see below, Section 5.3.3.2) – chosen for various, mainly pragmatic, reasons to become the salient part of the proposition. This focussed part can be conspicuous by virtue of its exclusivity ('only', 'precisely': Lat. *solum*, *tantum*, *dumtaxat*, *quidem*), of its contrast with another element ('rather', 'on the other hand', 'again': Lat. *quidem*, *autem*), by its representing an augmentation or expansion, escalating or not ('even', 'also': Lat. *quoque*, *etiam*, *et*, *uel*, marginally *-que*; 'above all', 'in particular', 'especially': Lat. *praesertim*, *praecipue*, *imprimis*, *maxime*) and more. Thus, a focus gets an explicit marking as to its value in relation to a set of alternatives,[11] at times with different focus markers denoting different grades of the same line of focussing: *id* ***demum*** *aut potius id* **solum** 'this finally (more than anything else) or rather only this' (Cic. *Att.* 8,8,1). This task of singling out *per oppositionem* was eloquently commented upon in ancient grammatical theory: "When one tells you 'carry this out!' (*hoc fac*), he urges you to carry out this thing . . . ; however, when one tells you '*saltem* carry this out!', he indicates that . . . you need to carry out especially [or: 'even if only'] this one thing (*uel hoc unum*)" (Pomp. *gramm.* V 266). A constituent may appear to be targeted merely as deserving to be singled out from among the others (by Lat. *quidem*), but some implicit term of reference is likely to lurk somewhere in the back of the writer/speaker's mind.[12]

The salient constituent may be – but need not be – the newly introduced or commenting element in the message that is conveyed by the given sentence, viz. the rheme (whose identity is determined by context or situation). While

11. Cf., in particular, deliberations in Jacobs (1983), König (1989, 1991), König and Stark (1991). We do not include – despite some semantic affinity – in the class of focus markers intensifying or downtoning adverbs such as 'very', 'much', 'somewhat', which quantify (enhance or attenuate) the degree of a quality (conveyed by an adjective), an action (conveyed by a verb), etc., without setting this element up against the other elements in the sentence. Nor to include are constituent-modifying *profecto* et sim. (Núñez 2002: 196).
12. Cf. Solodow (1978: 94–96) on "emphatic *quidem* where no contrast needs to be understood" and Denniston (1954: 359, 364) on Gk. μέν ("solitarium").

the two indeed often fall together, any sentence part other than the rheme, for instance the thema (or topic) of the sentence may also be brought into focus:[13]

(2) Petron. 33,6–7: *accipimus nos cochlearia … ouaque … pertundimus.* ***ego quidem*** *paene proieci partem meam.*
‘We took spoons … and hammered on the eggs. I, for one, almost threw away my portion’; cf. Section 5.3.3.2.

Rhematicity is ascertainable solely on an intersentential (or “transphrastic”) basis, being dependent on the wider context or situation; contrariwise, although focality can be conditioned by or relating to elements outside the frame of the single sentence (as in Cic. *Catil.* 1,3, ex. (61) in Section 5.1.5.3 below, where four focussed elements relate to respective parallels in an anteceding sentence), more often it is not. By and large, focus markers (d) are intrasentential and adconstituential markers, whereas particles of the other classes ((a) to (c)) are adsentential markers, and intersentential relations par excellence are of course effected by words of class (a).

Since logically there exist foci of different kinds,[14] sentences with emphasis on more than one element will be found:

(3) Cic. *Phil.* 12,22–23: *tres uiae sunt ad Mutinam …: a supero mari Flaminia, ab infero Aurelia, media Cassia. … restat Aurelia. hic* ***quidem etiam*** *praesidia habeo.*
‘There are three ways to Mutina …: by the Adriatic the Flaminian, by

13. While we find the logical distinctions between foci as presented by Dik (1997: 330–338) useful and applicable, one should bear in mind that the notion of “focus” in the Amsterdam school of Functional Grammar, which has focality opposed to topicality, does not correspond to our use of the term, which we integrate into a system containing “focus” as well as “rhema”. Cf. Eckert (1992, esp. at 99–110).

14. And these entail the use of an assortment of radically different particles, as sharply expounded by Apollonius Dyscolus: “The so-called expletive conjunctions [mainly what we would call emphatic particles today Fr. H.] do not receive their name from their meaning. … practically every single one of them has a special sense: restriction in the case of γε …, logical transition for δή, adversativeness for περ along with emphatic strengthening. So it was impossible for them to take a name from their shared meaning.” (*Synt.* 3.127–129, trans. Fr. W. Householder 1981).

the Tuscan sea the Aurelian, in the middle the Cassian. ... This leaves the Aurelian way. Here in all events (*hic quidem*) I have even guards (*etiam praesidia*).'

Salience may result from the use of different devices, and particles are but one of these devices: in Cic. *Catil.* 1,3 (ex. (61) in Section 5.1.5.3) the series of four elements are brought into parallel focus through word-order change combined with asyndesis.

Focality may stretch at times over an entire sentence. This is the doing of specific discourse markers (of class (b)), whose semantics bring out the role of the given sentence within the broader context and lend it its special significance: *praeterea*,[15] *insuper* 'moreover'; such a climactic sentence will be part of the foreground discourse, or, as the case may be, the marking by particle will itself coincide with foregrounding. Inceptive connectors, too, may render an initial sentence weighty, or particularly intriguing.[16]

When the sentence part brought into focus is the grammatical predicate, the sphere of influence of the focus marker is the proposition as a whole and the affinity with the modalizing function (c) of the affirmative kind is evident.[17] Most such cases contain the copula:

(4) Plaut. *Mil.* 988–989: *edepol haec quidem bellulast.*
'She's really a doll.' (trans. Solodow 1978: 99)

Not unlike the modalizers (c) – though less so – focus markers cluster with interjections (*edepol*, *ecastor*, *hercle*, ...), *quidem hercle* being a frequent combination, e.g., *mea* ***quidem hercle*** *caussa liber esto* 'As far as **I**

15. Which in Late Latin takes on the meaning 'especially', as a result of proferring the weightiest argument as an addition (Einar Löfstedt 1936: 164).
16. Frischer (1983) on *et*, *quoque* in this function; perhaps also Medieval *enim*, *nam* in their bleached meaning – B. Löfstedt (1976: 149): "dient höchstens dazu, etwas ganz Neues einzuführen". Cf. Don. *Phorm.* 171: "*Et* modo non conexiua, sed inceptiua est".
17. At times this applies to a grammatical subject accompanied by *quidem*. See in-depth discussion in Solodow (1978: 94–107), who correctly notes (p. 98) that "*quidem*, though attracted to pronouns, does not always emphasize them. ... *quidem* frequently acts as a sentence adverb". An occasional superficial resemblance can be shown for *saltem* 'at least; at any rate' (Bortolussi and Sznajder 2001) and restrictive *modo* 'just' (Risselada 1994: 327–330; Bertocchi 2001).

am concerned, by God, you shall be a free man' (Plaut. *Men.* 1029); *Di te perdant!* :: *Vos* ***quidem hercle*** 'Ruin upon you! :: Upon you, rather, by God' (Plaut. *Poen.* 588); cf. Plaut. *Mil.* 988 above.

Focus markers (d) as well as modalizers (c) reflect certain emotional values, as both kinds of expression involve some sort of engagement on the part of the speaker/writer. This accounts for the role of essentially asseverative modalizers, such as *profecto* or *uero*, in setting apart and underscoring (that is, acting like focus markers of) resumptive pronouns or pronominal adverbs that take up preceding equifunctional nominals which are the themata of their utterances (Rosén 1992: 255):

(5) Plaut. *Bacch.* 945: *nostro seni huic stolido,* ***ei profecto*** *nomen facio ego Ilio.*
'This dull old man here, him [and no other] I dub Ilium.'

(6) Sall. *Catil.* 61,1: *confecto proelio,* ***tum uero*** *cerneres* …
'When the battle was over, then [and only then] were people able to see …'

1.1.5 Class interrelationship

The four classes (a)–(d) have been presented above as distinct categories. However, aside from the interrelations between (c) and (d) (Sections 1.1.3 and 1.1.4) and (a) and (b) (Sections 1.1.1 and 1.1.2) and beyond overlapping due to diachronic change, borderlines can be fuzzy on other counts, as will emerge throughout the discussion of individual items. In other languages, too, the two encompassing fields of connection ((a) + (b)) and modification ((c) + (d)) are not strictly separable from each other and are apprehended as partly overlapping in the employment of individual particles. Suffice it to mention here that despite elaborate classification of Vedic and Sanskrit particles (the *nipātas*) in ancient Indian grammatical theory, a master of Indic syntax such as Speijer saw fit to state (1886: 310, § 394) that "the distinction between these two classes of particles [those serving modality and those serving connection] is … not an essential one. The same word may be sometimes a modal, sometimes a connective". Cf. Denniston (1954) passim for Greek.

1.2 Function and meaning

The *Wortart* “particles” generally – and in Latin as well – is unfortunately best circumscribed negatively: we identify as particles that set of non-inflecting, and only exceptionally morphologically still motivated words, that are
– themselves not sentence constituents;
– not nuclei of nominal phrases;
– not relators;
– not constituting an utterance by themselves;[18]
– not members of an open class;[19]
and, last but not least,
– not autosemantical.

1.2.1 Synsemanticism

> ... nulla significationis causa ponuntur
> (Priscianus XVI, *Gramm.* III 102)

> ... sensum explent, detractae autem nihil nocent ... . inlatae (‘when inserted’) aliquid quod non expressum est sed latet, illud ipsae res (‘the state of affairs [?]’) nobis demonstrant. (Pomp., *Commentum artis Donati*, *gramm.* V 266–267)

Particles are synsemantical in the original sense of the term συσσημαίνειν said of meaning in context (οἱ σύνδεσμοι συσσημαίνουσιν Apoll.Dysc. *Conj.* 4).[20] While by no means equating “partikelhaft” with “grammatical”, nor “grammatical” with “synsemantical”,[21] we find that a particle in Latin is

18. Certain modalizers (e.g. *sane*) and focus markers (e.g. *etiam*) do have sentence valence (as they are capable of forming responses, see Brown, Joseph, and Wallace, this vol.) – unless contextual ellipsis is assumed to be at play.
19. The closed classes of particles are openable by grammaticalization or functionalization.
20. This Greek term was conflated already in the early Middle Ages (Boethius) and then in Modistic literature with Aristotelian προσσημαίνειν ‘signify in relation to’ (for which Varro had earlier coined the adequate loan-translation *adsignificare*) to result in Latin *consignificare* (Rosén 1989c; cf. Covington 1984: 34–35).
21. Chr. Lehmann, in the article “Synsemantika” (1995, esp. at 1252), rejecting unqualified synsemanticism as a criterion of particlehood.

not autonomous in meaning (neither in lexical nor in deictic meaning) when taken in isolation, but rather dependent on its environment for obtaining its full effect through its relationship to another element, to several elements, or to a sentence as a whole. In this we adopt a conception of synsemanticism as carrying a relational meaning.[22]

A piquant proof that Latin particles are devoid of meaning only in a limited measure may be found in the fact that some Latin particles are capable of serving as a derivation base of lexically full-fledged words – even though delocutivity is involved: the most plausible source for the stem of *autumare* 'state; allege; say' is the most common of the tools of sentence cohesion, *autem*.[23] Similarly, Fr. *ergoter* and *argoter* (thirteenth century) 'argue; split hairs', with its derivatives *ergotage*, *ergoterie*, *ergoteur*, *ergotisme* (and Spanish loans), all originating in scholastic employment of *ergo* (*argo*) 'in consequence, so'. A further step may be found in the direct hypostasis of the Latin conjunction *quoniam* '(saying this) because' which gave rise to Romance substantives meaning 'quarrel': OIt. *quonia*, *conia*, MFr. *quoniam*, and perhaps to Catal. *quonia*, *coniam* 'no-good'.[24]

Conversely to its synsemantic nature, a particle is also an ancillary item, which lends special senses semantically or pragmatically, or both, to its host unit, sharpening its effect and rendering it less diffuse – approximately Seiler's "index".[25]

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22. "Beziehungsbedeutung" Braußе (1994: 15, 25–26, 73). This incomplete meaning is not a trait special to function words: nouns, too, may be relational, in a slightly different sense, in that they require another element to bring out their full meaning, the πρός τι ἔχοντα of ancient grammatical theory (Dion. Thrax 12,67).
23. Cf. dialectal Ger. *äfern* (OHG *afarōn*, MHG *äveren*) 'say repeatedly; repeat'.
24. Spitzer (1927: 248–250). Cf. Celtic substantives meaning incertitude that issue from function words: OIr. *acht* 'but' and 'doubt'; Breton *mar* the conjunction 'if' and 'hesitation, doubt'.
25. Seiler characterizes by this term Greek enclitic particles of varying scope (1962: 166–167 = 1977: 37–38). For the history of the term "particle", "particula" itself the reader is referred to, inter alios, Schenkeveld (1988) and Hilton (1997/98: 198–200); cf. Berenguer Sánchez (1992). I might add that wherever this term occurs in a grammatical or stylistic context in Classical Latin sources, it has the same meaning as in other contexts, i.e., of a part sharing with others in a whole: a morpheme that is part of a word (Gellius), a clause or a colon as sentence parts (Cicero, Quintilian). The only non-connective particle qualified as "particula" in Classical times is *saltem* (Gell. 12,14,1), but then it is also a

Beyond that, discourse markers, in particular those organizing narrative discourse, hold a special position in respect of their semanticism, since many do retain a significant measure of their own lexical and deictic meaning, also those recurrent as text-structure indicators. In fact, while not being synsemantic, a host of adverbs – temporal ones naturally since text sequence traces time sequence – cannot be divorced functionally from the other discourse markers; some of those slip at some point of their existence into the class of bleached markers: *interea* and *interim* 'meanwhile' becoming also connectors, adversative (Cicero: Hand III 416; *interim* Plautus [?], Silver-Latin prose: Hand III 428) or merely additive; *olim* 'once upon a time', a typical presentative-sentence marker, and not necessarily indicating a remote past.

1.2.2 Referential and particle usage

In Latin – as in a good deal of other languages – we find that particles often have their look-alikes[26] as words of other function and in fact can, if rarely, also be shown to evolve from those. Below are grouped examples – indicative also of fuzziness of borderlines between the classes – which illustrate this double-faced nature of such words (functions are marked (a) to (d), non-particle usage asterisked).

nunc 'now', *tum* 'then':

(7) (*) Plaut. *Men*. 1122–1123: *mihi hoc erat, quod nunc est, Menaechmo* ('I had the same name as now, Menaechmus'). *illum tum uocabant Sosiclem* ('That one was called Sosicles then'); Hor. *sat*. 2,3,227–230: *edicit … uti … ueniant* ('He decreed … that they should come'). *quid tum?* ('And then what happened?') *uenere frequentes* ('They came in crowds'); see also *nunc* 'now' in Apul. *met*. 5,19 (in (9) below)

stock example in later grammarians' tradition (e.g., Pompeius, fifth century [?]) for the *expletiuae* which typically are dependent on context.

26. Given the lack of indications for sentence intonation and the regrettably poor state of word-order research in Latin, this is the most one can say.

(8) (a) Liv. 22,53,11: *si sciens fallo,* ***tum*** *me, Iuppiter, … pessimo leto adficias* ('If I knowingly speak false, then may you, Jupiter, … afflict me with the most violent death')[27]

(9) (b) Cic. *Att.* 3,8,3: [new paragraph] ***nunc*** ('And now') *ad ea quae scripsisti*: … ('to the points of your letter: …'); Apul. *met.* 5,19: *malum grande … praeminatur* ('he is … threatening some great disaster'). ***nunc*** ('well'; 'so') *si quam salutarem opem … potestis adferre* ('if you can provide some salutary help'), *iam nunc* ('already right now') [!] *subsistite* ('support me'); Phaedr. 1,1: *uenerant* ('had come') … *stabat* ('stood') … . ***tunc*** … *latro* … *iurgii causam* ***intulit*** ('Then … the plunderer … launched a pretext for a quarrel')[28]

iam 'already':

(10) (*) Ter. *Phorm.* 445: *iam an nondum* ('already or not yet') …*?*; Plaut. *Most.* 954: *sex menses iam hic nemo habitat* ('For six months already now, nobody has been living here'); Ter. *Eun.* 725: *Thais iam aderit* ('Thais will be here at any moment now')

(11) (b) Plin. *nat.* 2,115: ***iam*** *quidem* [*quidam* v.l.] *et specus* ('So again do also [certain] caverns'); Liv. 9,19,7–9: *Romano scutum … et pilum …, Romana acies distinctior, … facilis partienti* ('the Romans with a shield … and a javelin …; the Roman line was opener, … easy to divide') … . ***iam*** ('Moreover,') *in opere quis par Romano miles?* ('in defensive works who can match the Roman soldiers?')

(12) (c) Plaut. *Cas.* 834: *Valete.* :: *Ite* **iam**. ::: *Ite.* :: ***Iam*** *ualete.* ('Goodbye. :: Go, now. ::: [Yes,] go. :: Goodbye, now.'); Plaut. *Men.* 405: ***iam,*** *amabo, desiste ludos facere* ('Please do stop already the joking')

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27. *Tum* as superordinator (apodotic connector); note its related inferential use in *quid tum?* 'So what?; What of it?' e.g. Ter. *Phorm.* 541: *Pater adest hic* ('My father is back home'). :: *Scio. sed quid tum?* :: *Ah, dictum sapienti sat est* ('A word to the wise') or *Haut.* 846–847: *Inuenisti hodie filiam* ('You have found today a daughter'). :: *Quid tum?* :: *Hanc uxorem sibi dari uolt Clinia* ('It is her that Clinia wishes to marry'), as opposed to temporal *tum* in the prompt question *quid tum?* 'And then what?; What next?' (Hor. *sat.* 2,3,230 in (7) above and also in the Terentian dialogue itself, e.g. *Haut.* 602).

28. As discourse markers (b), *tum* and *nunc* occupy sentence-initial position. Tense-compatibility constraints (*nunc* + the present, *tum* + the preterite) do not apply to *nunc* when functioning as discourse marker nor to *tum* as superordinator.

demum, *denique* ‘finally’:

(13) (*) Liv.Andr. *carm.* 30 apud Serv.auct. ad *Aen.* 1,92: *igitur demum* translating καὶ τότ’; Tac. *ann.* 1,66: *neque auctoritate neque precibus …, miseratione demum* (‘neither by command nor by entreaty …, finally by compassion’); Plaut. *Amph.* 235: *denique … nostra superat manus* (‘At last … our troops prevail’)

(14) (d) Sall. *Catil.* 20,4: *idem uelle atque idem nolle, **ea demum** firma amicitia est* (‘The same likes and dislikes – this, and this only, is steadfast friendship’); Plaut. *Mil.* 1365: *si id facies, **tum demum** scibis* (‘If you do this, then, and only then, will you know’); Plaut. *Capt.* 142–143: ***tum denique** … nostra intellegimus bona, cum …* (‘Only then do we realize our blessings, when … ’)

(15) (c?) Hor. *sat.* 1,1,106: *est modus in rebus, sunt certi **denique** fines* (‘There is a measure in things, there are, when all is said and done, fixed bounds’)

tandem ‘at last; after all’:

(16) (*) Plaut. *Trin.* 586–591: *‘abi …, i …, i … .’ tandem impetraui abiret* (‘Go away …, do go …, do go. At last I’ve got him to go away’); Plaut. *Asin.* 447: *tandem … conticuit* (‘At last he became silent’)

(17) (c) Plaut. *Rud.* 982–983: *ausus es … comparare … ? eadem **tandem** res uidetur?* (‘You dare compare … ? Does it seem indeed the same thing to you?’ trans. Nixon); Plaut. *Mil.* 1062: *eu ecastor nimis uilest **tandem*** (‘Splendid, by God, that’s after all [or: ‘really’] too cheap’)

amabo, *sis* ‘please’:

(18) (*) Plaut. *Poen.* 1230: *hanc amabo atque amplexabor* (‘I shall love her and embrace her’); Plaut. *Asin.* 683–684: *sis* (‘If you wish’) *erum sospitari* (‘to save your master’), *da mi istas uiginti minas* (‘give me these twenty minas’)

(19) (c) Plaut. *Asin*. 707: ***amabo**, Libane, iam sat est* ('Please, Libanus, that's enough now'); Plaut. *Cas*. 793: *abi hinc **sis** ergo* ('Please go away from here then'); Plaut. *Persa* 793: *ne **sis** me uno digito attigeris* ('Mind you don't lay one finger on me')

sane 'certainly', *credo* 'I suppose; presumably':

(20) (*) Plaut. *Curc*. 176: *bonum est pauxillum amare sane, insane non bonum est* ('A little loving in a sane fashion is good, loving insanely is not'); Plaut. *Truc*. 322–323: *piscis ego credo … minus diu lauare quam haec lauat* ('I believe that even fish … do not bathe as long as this one here')

(21) (c) Plaut. *Asin*. 646: *dignust **sane*** ('Indeed he deserves it'); in directives, e.g. Plaut. *Epid.* 79: … . :: *i **sane*** ('Yes indeed, do go'); in response, e.g. *Merc*. 485: … ? :: ***sane** uolo* ('Indeed I do'); Cic. *Att*. 11,19,1: *rarius scribis quam solebas …, **credo** quia …* ('You are writing less often than you used to …, I suppose because … '); Sall. *Catil*. 52,13: *disseruit, **credo** falsa existumans ea quae … memorantur* ('He lectured, considering false, I presume, what is told … '); Cic. *Catil*. 1,5 (ironic): *si te iam, Catilina, … interfici iussero, **credo**, erit uerendum mihi ne non hoc potius omnes boni serius a me … factum esse dica*[*n*]*t* (see above, Section 1.1.3)

Most connectors and several focus markers and modalizers share less in this quality of multiple affiliation: *et*, *sed*, etc., and also *quidem*, *dumtaxat*, *profecto*, are used exclusively as particles from their first appearance onwards:

dumtaxat 'just':

(22) (d) Plin. *epist*. 4,9,7: *sola se munuscula* ('that he received … merely some small presents') ***dumtaxat*** ('at most') ***natali suo*** ('for his birthday') … *accepisse*; Vitr. 10,16,10: *progrediebatur extra murum* ('he extended them outside the wall') ***dumtaxat*** ('at least') ***extra sagittae missionem*** ('out of the range of arrows')

profecto 'undoubtedly':

(23) (c) Plaut. *Trin.* 1072: *is est, certe is est, is est* ***profecto*** ('It is him, surely it is him, it is him without doubt'); Plaut. *Mil.* 1264: *omnes* ***profecto*** *mulieres te amant* ('No doubt all the women fall in love with you')

(24) (d?) Plaut. *Most.* 841: *haec quae possum,* ***ea*** *mihi* ***profecto*** *… placent* ('The things I am able [to see] – these indeed please me'); Plaut. *Bacch.* 945: *nostro seni huic stolido,* ***ei profecto*** *nomen facio ego Ilio* ('This silly old man of ours here – him surely I dub Ilium'); see below, Section 2.3.3 (ii).

In the mass of instances which exhibit these function words there are borderline cases between particle- and non-particle usage: is *tum demum* 'then at last' or 'then and only then'? and likewise regarding *demum* with other indications of a subsequent point of time, e.g. Liv. 6,2,13: *septuagesimo demum anno subegit*. Is *tandem* in *tandem cognosti qui siem?* (Ter. *Andr.* 586) a temporal adverb 'finally', 'at this late point' or directive-pressuring 'already'? Is *iam* in *iam amabo desiste* (Plaut. *Men.* 405), in *iamne imus?* (Ter. *Eun.* 492) etc., or in the ironic *ergo iam ille bonus filius meus habet amicam aliquam?* (Apul. *met.* 5,28: 'So that fine son of mine *iam* has some sort of a girlfriend?') modalizing or purely temporal? And, more pungently, does the response *sane sapis* (Plaut. *Pseud.* 662, al.) mean 'you understand perfectly well' – or 'certainly, you understand that'? Is *uero* in *eum sese non nosse hominem …, ipsum uero se nouisse callide Demaenetum* (Plaut. *Asin.* 348–349) 'he doesn't know the man, he *uero* knows D. himself well' the ablative of *uerum* ('truly') or the connective adverb ('however', Ter.→)? Where besides the evident logical succession a chronological succession within historical Latin has not been shown, one should refrain from speaking of "intermediary" cases or stages.

These borderline cases, too, bring to light the essential semantic differences between the four classes, and the shadings, or "inclinations", so to speak, in them (evidently not language-specific for Latin): preponderance of temporal adverbs over other means of expression within discourse-organizing particles (since temporal succession is inherent in sequential discourse), concentration of parenthetical verb forms (e.g. *quaeso*) and originally hypotactic verbs (e.g. *sis*) in the class of modalizers and especially among those capable of determining the nature of the speech act at issue.

1.2.3 Meaning and meanings

Resignation concerning the ability to grasp and convey the meaning of individual particles reigns. In contemporary treatments of sentential modification and cohesion, glossings are frequently dispensed with, the particle either indicated by its functional rubric or inserted in its original form. This illustrates not only how elusive the sense is of a particle even in context but also, and especially, how difficult it is to grasp the overall meaning of such a word and to convey it metalinguistically or in translation (unless making do with rudimentary semantic concepts). Of the two diametrically opposed approaches one can take to the problem of the complex semantic character of such a word – viz. 1) considering its non-particle denotation(s) and its particle denotation(s) as discrete phenomena vs. 2) regarding them semantically as representing the same meaning – we are taking here the second stand, that of one meaning, a *Gesamtbedeutung*. If we do not take this minimalistic approach, or at least resign to positing a cardinal value with a minimal periphery of marginal uses, we risk being entrapped, with a maximalistic view or wide-ranged homonymy, in innumerable impressionistic observations leading to merely context-bound "meanings". A certain amount of polysemy is, then, necessarily involved, but needs to be reduced to a minimum.[29] Thus, for the temporal adverb and – possibly – modal particle *hodie*: [Immediacy], comprising 'today, now' and the irritated, even menacing 'immediately', as exemplified by Hor. *sat.* 2,7,21–22: *non dices hodie, quorsum haec tam putida tendant, furcifer?* 'Just tell me already, you crook, where does all this rot lead to!' (Van Wageningen 1918); cf. Don. Ter. *Ad*. 215: "*hodie* non tempus significat sed iracundam eloquentiam ac stomachum"; *Andr*. 196: "... ad comminationem, non ad tempus plerumque refertur". Or, for a word exclusively in particle usage, *quidem*, which is usually depicted as performing widely divergent tasks:[30]

29. Cf. discussion by König (1991: 175–180), Kroon, for Latin (1995: 41–44, 46, 97–99, 101), Mosegaard-Hansen (1998: 85–90).
30. Solodow (1978), who also considers reducing the senses (p. 16) to "anticipatory", "looking backwards" and "with contrast unexpressed".

(25) (d) Mart. 1,108,2: *pulchra* ***quidem****, uerum transtiberina domus* ('a house, beautiful *quidem*, but across the Tiber'): "contrasting", ∼ μέν, 'though'

(26) (d)/(a?) Lucan. 4,472: *pugna fuit, non longa* ***quidem*** ('There was a battle, not a long one *quidem*'); Quint. *inst.* 10,1,93: *elegia quoque Graecos prouocamus. … satura* ***quidem*** *tota nostra est* ('We challenge the Greeks also in elegy. … satire *quidem* is all our own'); Sen. *dial.* 4,26,4: *nocere … nobis possunt …, iniuriam* ***quidem*** *facere non possunt* ('Harm they can do us …, injury *quidem* they cannot cause'): "adversative" 'but'

(27) (d) Caes. *Gall.* 1,53,6: *quae* ***quidem*** *res Caesari non minorem quam ipsa uictoria uoluptatem attulit* ('and this *quidem* brought Caesar no less pleasure than the victory itself'); Cic. *Phil.* 12,22–23: *tres uiae sunt ad Mutinam …: … Flaminia, … Aurelia, … Cassia. … restat Aurelia. hic* ***quidem*** *etiam praesidia habeo* (ex. (3) in Section 1.1.4 above): "emphatic", "limiting"

(28) (d) Cic. *Cluent.* 103: *dixit, et bis* ***quidem*** *dixit* ('He pleaded, and *quidem* twice'); Cic. *Cato* 77: *uiuere …, et eam* ***quidem*** *uitam quae est sola uita nominanda* ('that they are living, and *quidem* the only life deserving of the name'): "extending" 'even'

But these differentiated glossings can be – and indeed have been – unified under one semantic heading, as aptly done by Solodow (1978: 13): "*Quidem* essentially emphasizes, … but it does so … always with reference to something else. *Quidem* emphasizes one statement (or phrase or word) while directing our attention to another …".

When all is said and done, we must never lose sight of the fact, when aiming at a *Gesamtbedeutung*, that we are dealing with function words, and with these, not only generalizing glossings[31] and encompassing definitions

31. That can perhaps be formulated only by paraphrasing. In fact, the existence of current Latin expressions of different structures, parenthetical and subordinate, such as *magno meo dolori* 'unfortunately' or *nisi fallor* 'apparently' has in the past given the false impression that particles were scarce in Latin.

are hard to come by, but the very distinction between pure function and semantic field is illusory.[32]

1.3 Heuristics and identification

Interpretative method has been the prime instrument in Latin sentential-modification and particle research.[33] Indeed, one should never forego interpretation of the instance at hand. We have also benefited in the past from identifying translational equivalents in texts translated from extant Greek sources;[34] and although in the majority of cases no one-to-one relation emerged, in the sense that on the one hand a Greek particle found several Latin translations and, on the other hand, the same Latin word would serve for several Greek items, nevertheless marked preferences, such as *autem* for δέ, *enim* for γάρ, *igitur* and *plane* for δή, help in confirming or establishing the semantic-pragmatic field of numerous Latin particles. There are also internal Latin means of identifying the *valeur* of particles.

1.3.1 Tests

As a first heuristic step we advocate the use of a series of tests that indicate functionalized status, some more, some less conclusive by themselves, all requiring further application to Latin:

(i) co-occurrence of heterosemes (∼ "homonyms", cf. Section 1.2.2) of the type *nunc* [discourse marker, 'so'] *si quam salutarem opem … potestis adferre, iam nunc* [temporal adverbs, 'already right now'] *subsistite* (Apul. *met.* 5,19);[35]

32. Cf. specifically on discourse markers Fraser (1990: 394–395), Kroon (1995: 46).
33. Ongoing research carried out fruitfully in the Amsterdam school, first in Bolkestein's pioneering 1977 article and then principally in the works of Rodie Risselada and Caroline Kroon (see References).
34. In the entire prose and poetry corpus of Early Latin and Republican Classical Latin (Rosén 1989a: 392–395).
35. Cf. Ger. *Das war* ***einfach*** *zu einfach; Hätte ich doch* ***nur*** *nur ein Glas getrunken!* (Wegener 1998: 40–41).

(ii) co-occurrence of antonyms;[36]
(iii) non-modifiability.[37]

1.3.2 Intonation

Nowhere in Latin grammar is the absence of evidence for sentence intonation so sorely felt as in particle research. Latin *grammatici* and *rhetores* themselves comment on their compulsory reticence concerning suprasegmentals, that it is scarcely possible to describe them lucidly (*uix posse ... de uoce ... dilucide scribi Rhet.Her.* 3,19; cf. 4,54). But beyond the context of its making a distinctive contribution (*cum ... uox* ['the tone'] *propriam uim* ['a force of its own'] *adiciat rebus* Quint. *inst.* 11,3,9), *pronuntiatio* is dealt with exclusively in the context of and indeed in terms of euphony and emotive stimuli (Cic. *orat.* 55: *uocis mutationes totidem sunt quot animorum* 'There are as many variations in the tone of voice as there are in feelings').

1.3.3 Class demarcation

Next, the quest should be for criteria that demarcate the individual classes one against the other (inasmuch as occasional blendings permit):

(i) admittance of more than one of a kind into a clause;
(ii) coordinability;
(iii) being negated;
(iv) constituting a – marked – focus of a clause.

36. Of the type Ger. *Du kannst* ***ruhig*** *laut sein; Das war* ***einfach*** *schwierig für mich* (Wegener 1998: 40). Examples in Latin are still to be found.
37. E.g. of *nunc* as a discourse marker vs. its modifiability when a temporal adverb (*iam nunc* etc.): Risselada (1996: 107, 111, 1998b: 90).

Table 1. Demarcating criteria

	Discourse markers (b)	Connectors and conn. adverbs (a)	Modalizers (c)	Focus markers (d)
More than one	–[38]	–	+[39]	+[40]
Coordination	–	–	?	+[41]
Negation	–	–	–	+[42]
Marked focus	–	+[43]	(+)[44]	–

1.3.4 Word order

As for position in the sentence, nothing definite can be said beyond the well-known 1) initial position of discourse markers (b) and connectives (a), in that order, and 2) the juxtaposition of focus markers (d) to their focus. Modalizers (c) are found all over the sentence, with sentence-final position as the least preferred position: in Plautus, ca. 15 % of the totality of *profecto* and *sane*,

38. See Section 4.3 (vi) below on – seemingly – pleonastic combinations.
39. When performing different pragmatic tasks: Ter. *Haut*. 954: *itane* ***tandem*** (‘when all is said and done’), ***quaeso*** (‘please tell me’), *Menedeme* [*?*] *ut . . . ?*. The solidarity of *quin* and *modo* (Risselada 1994: 320, 328) as in Plaut. *Trin*. 583: ***quin*** *tu i* ***modo*** ‘Only you go!’ is also basically one of a modalizer with a restrictive-focus marker.
40. Plaut. *Merc*. 299: *oculis* ***quoque etiam*** *plus iam uideo quam prius* ‘With my eyes too I see even more than before’; Cic. *Phil*. 12.23: *hic* ***quidem etiam*** *praesidia habeo* ‘Here in all events I have even guards’.
41. ? ‘*Etiam et praecipue’*.
42. Note in particular *ne . . . quidem* ‘not even’: Cic. *Verr*.II 1,155: *non enim praetereundum est ne id quidem* ‘For one must not overlook not even this’. See discussion in Orlandini 2001 (214–218, 221–232).
43. A connector (as well as connective relatives and conjunctions) may be the focus of the clause it introduces: Cic. *Lael*. 79: *rarum genus. et quidem* (‘and in fact’) – *omnia praeclara rara*.
44. In their capacity of forming responses, modalizing adverbs (such as *sane*, *certe*) do constitute the focus of their utterance (at times marked by a focusing particle). As modal particles they are hardly ever interpretable as being brought into focus by particles (see, however, *certe quidem*, *saltem certe* ‘surely at any rate’, Section 5.3.3.2 below). I know of an isolated instance (Plaut. *Mil*. 185a, a verse omitted in the Palatine tradition), where word order suggests an asseverative *profecto* focused by a cleft construction: *profecto ut ne quoquam de ingenio degrediatur muliebri* ‘For sure she should not deviate anywhere from a woman’s character’.

whose other occurrences are evenly divided over medial and initial positions, and a single occurrence (3 %) of *certe*, which opens sentences in 82 % of its occurrences (Gabbai 1986); cf. below, Section 3.2.2.5, on *amabo* and *sis*.

1.3.5 Collocations

Recognized compatibilities and collocations of particles are conducive to the establishment of classes and subclasses. Two tables, one for conclusiva (Table 2), the other for copulativa and adversativa (Table 3, p. 340), will exemplify this procedure (whose point of departure is the non-collocability of members of one and the same paradigm);[45] each table results in two series of 1) connectors (*itaque*, *et*, *atqui*, ...) and 2) connective adverbs (*propterea*, *tamen*, ...).[46]

Table 2. Conclusiva (Pinkster 1972: 159)

	2nd components						
1st components	*itaque*	*igitur*	*ergo*	*eo*	*ideo*	*idcirco*	*propterea*
itaque			[+]		+	+	+
igitur						+	
ergo		[+]			+	+	+
eo							
ideo			[+]				
idcirco	[+]	[+]	[+]				
propterea		[+]	[+]				

1.3.6 Particles in sentence patterns

Ideally, for the ultimate goal, i.e., establishing accurately function and scope of individual items, one should proceed from PARADIGMATIC OPPOSITIONS

45. The extent to which this strict structuralist principle of non-collocability of members of one paradigm (“juxtaposition principle” Pinkster 1972: 121) is applicable to function words is a moot question, but we would like to believe that this is the case.
46. Exclusively Late Latin attestation and sporadic or style-limited occurrence are bracketed.

Table 3. Copulativa and adversativa (after Rosén 1989a: 397)

	2nd components															
1st components	*et, -que*	*neque*	*atque*	*sed*	*at*	conn.rel.	*atqui*	*nam*	*namque*	*uerum*	*immo*	*enim*	*autem*	*uero*	*tamen*	*contra*
*et, -que**											[+]	+	+	+	+	+
*neque**												+	+	+	+	+
*atque**											[+]	+	+	+	+	+
*sed**										[+]	[+]	+	+	+	+	+
at												+	[+]	+	+	+
conn.rel.															+	
atqui												+				+
nam																+
namque												[+]				
uerum												+	+	+	+	
immo												+		+		+
enim														+		
autem														[+]		
uero													[+]			
tamen														+		
contra													[+]	[+]		

* As sentence connectors

IN GIVEN SENTENCE PATTERNS.[47] We have posited the following fifteen Latin sentence and clause patterns, representing all sentence types (with various subtypes) that admit modifiers or connective elements,[48] in the hope of bringing out meanings, or functions, of the particles liable to figure in them. These patterns are syntactic models, not illocutionary ones.

Ia Verg. *Aen.* 1,369: ***Sed** uos qui **tandem** quibus aut uenistis ab oris?*
‘**DM** you, who **MP** are you, or from what shores do you come?’

47. This is being carried out with unremitting assiduity by H. Weydt (starting with his 1969 thesis) and his circle; yet – even for the living languages dealt with – the palpable difficulty in glossing or circumscribing is always there.
48. Revision of the 23 sentence patterns proposed on a previous occasion (Rosén 1989a: 397–398).

Cic. *Catil.* 1,1: *Quo usque **tandem** abutere, Catilina, patientia nostra?*
'How long **MP** will you, Catilina, take advantage of our forebearance?'

Ib Cic. *Deiot.* 25: *Tibi **porro** inimicus cur esset?*
'**DM** why should he have been an enemy to you?'

Ic Ter. *Phorm.* 541: (*Pater adest hic.*) :: *Scio, **sed** quid **tum**?*
'(My father is back here.) :: I know, **CON** what **CON**?'

IIa Plaut. *Mil.* 66: *Itane aibant **tandem**?*
'Did they **MP** say that?'
Ter. *Haut.* 954: *itane **tandem, quaeso*** [*qu. est* v.l.], ... [*?*] *ut ... ?*
'Is it **MP MP** true ... [?] that ... ?'

IIb Apul. *met.* 5,28: ***Ergo** iam ille bonus filius meus habet amicam aliquam?*
'**CON** now that fine son of mine has some sort of a girlfriend?'

III Plaut. *Amph.* 666: (*Quī, ... ?*) :: *Quia **enim** sero aduenimus.*
'(How ... ?) :: Because **MP** we have come too late.'

IVa Cic. *leg.* 1,21: (*Dasne ... ?*) :: *Do **sane**.*
'(Do you grant ... ?) :: I grant it **MP**.'

IVb Plaut. *Amph.* 410: (*Quid, ... ?*) :: *Ita **enim uero**.*
'(What, ... ?) :: Yes, **MP (MP)**.'

Va Ter. *Ad.* 794: ***Tandem** reprime iracundiam atque ad te redi.*
'**MP** control your temper and come to your senses.'

Vb Catull. 3,13–14: ***At** uobis male sit, malae tenebrae Orci!*
'**DM** curse upon you, cursed shadows of Orcus!'

VI Plaut. *Pseud.* 304–305: (*Metuo credere.*) :: *Credere **autem**!*
'(I'm afraid to make a loan.) :: Make a loan **DM**[?]/**FM**[?]!'

VIIa Ter. *Ad.* 722: *Ecce **autem**!*
'Here **DM**!'

VIIb Cic. *Att.* 9,12,1: *Ecce **autem** a Matio et Trebatio eadem.*
'Here **DM** the same from Matius and Trebatius.'

VIIIa Cic. *Att.* 9,12,1: ***At*** *quam honesta,* ***at*** *quam expedita tua consilia!*
'**DM** how decent, **DM** how simple, your advice!'

VIIIb Plaut. *Amph.* 299: ***Obsecro*** *hercle, quantus et quam ualidus est!*
'God **MP**, how big and how strong he is!'
Sen. *suas.* 1,3: *O quantum magnitudo tua rerum* ***quoque*** *naturam supergressa est!*
'Oh how much has your greatness surpassed the possibilities **FM** of the universe!'

IX Plaut. *Mil.* 1062: *Eu ecastor nimis uilest* ***tandem***.[49]
'Splendid, by God, that's too cheap **MP**.'

Xa Plaut. *Pseud.* 916: *Nimis* ***tandem*** *ego abs te contemnor.*[49]
'I am getting too much **MP** contempt from you.'

Xb Petron. 44,6: ***Sed*** *memini Safinium.*
'**DM** I remember Safinius.'
Petron. 31,8: *Allata est* ***tamen*** *gustatio ualde lauta.*
'**DM** some pretty fine hors-d'œuvres were brought in.'

XIa Cic. *Lael.* 79: . . . . ***et quidem*** *omnia praeclara rara.*
'**CON FM** everything outstanding is rare.'

XIb Apul. *met.* 6,9: *Felix* ***uero*** *ego, quae in ipso aetatis meae flore uocabor auia.*
'**MP**[?]/**CON**[?] lucky me, who in the very flower of my youth shall be called grandmother.'

XIIa *CIL* I^2 584.25–27: *Sei Langenses eam pequniam non dabunt . . . ,* ***tum*** *. . . dare debento in annos singolos.*
'Should the Langenses fail to pay this money . . . , **CON** they shall be obliged to pay every year . . . '

XIIb Petron. 67,10: ***Plane*** *si filiam haberem, auriculas illi praeciderem.*
'**MP** if I had a daughter, I would cut her ears off.'

XIII Plaut. *Mil.* 402: *Nescio quid credam egomet mihi* ***iam***.
'I do not know what I myself can believe myself **MP**.'

49. These declarative sentences derive their exclamatory force – if indeed they have any – solely from the interjections and the particle they contain.

XIV Ov. *met.* 10,323: *. . . , si* ***tamen*** *hoc scelus est.*
'. . . , if **CON** it is a crime.'

XVa Quint. *inst.* 10,1,34: *Est et alius . . . usus,* ***et*** *is* ***quidem*** *maximus.*
'There is also another . . . use, **CON** a highly important one **FM**.'

XVb Petron. 20,8: *Ne Giton quidem ultimo risum tenuit,* ***utique*** *postquam uirguncula . . . puero innumerabilia oscula dedit.*
'Even Giton finally could not suppress his laughter, **FM**[?]/**MP**[?] after the girlie . . . kissed the boy profusely.'

No modal particles and only occasional discourse markers (of transition) occur in the presentational declarative pattern (*Erant in quadam ciuitate rex et regina*). The verbless exclamative patterns of the types *(O) me miseram!* and infinitival *tantam(ne) esse in animo inscitiam!*[50] do NOT ADMIT modal markers; nor have I found as yet in the *qu-* exclamations any modalizers apart from the addressee-oriented *obsecro*, *quaeso* type; of focus markers sporadic examples crop up here.

Particle paradigms in two of the above mentioned patterns may illustrate the semantic-pragmatic oppositions one is liable to arrive at.

1.3.6.1 Superordinators. Particles of class (a), connectors, as superordinators (or apodotic elements) to various formally not corresponding conjunctions; all are substitutable by zero.

Pattern XII:

(29) Plaut. *Most.* 1050: *quoniam conuocaui,* ***atque*** *illi me . . . segregant.*
'As soon as I summoned it, *atque* they pushed me out.'[51]

(30) Enn.[?] *sat.* 31 apud Gell. 2,29,8: *haec ubi ille dixit,* ***et*** *discessit.*
'After he said this, *et* he went out.'[52]

50. Taking the obscure *-nĕ*, optionally employed in this pattern, as identical with the interrogative *-nĕ* brings this type closer to the *qu-* exclamations.

51. Only Plautus and then Gellius have *atque* apodoses (Einar Löfstedt 1911: 203); not with *si . . .* protases.

52. In Late Latin *et* becomes a common apodosis introducer, also after conjunctional protases (Einar Löfstedt 1911: 202).

(31) Petron. 38,8: *cum* [*quomodo* codd.] … *pilleum rapuisset,* ***et*** *thesaurum inuenit.*
'He had just torn off the cap …, *et* he found a treasure.'

(32) Plaut. *Rud.* 930: *iam ubi liber er⟨o⟩,* ***igitur*** [*erigitur* codd.] *demum instruam agrum.*
'When I am already free, *igitur* I'll finally get me land.'

(33) Plaut. *Mil.* 772: *quando habebo,* ***igitur*** *ratione⟨m⟩ mearum fabricarum dabo.*
'When I have it, *igitur* I'll tell you the plan of my tricks.'

(34) Lucr. 5,258–260: *quoniam … uidetur …,* ***ergo*** *terra tibi libatur.*
'Since … is seen …, *ergo* the earth is impaired in your eyes.'

(35) Cic. *inv.* 1,84: *si neque emisti neque hereditate uenit …, necesse est* ***ergo*** *subripueris.*
'If you did not buy it nor inherited it …, *ergo* you must have stolen it.'

(36) apud Liv. 10,19,17 [Appius]: *si … uictoriam duis,* ***ast*** *ego tibi templum uoueo.*
'If … you grant the victory, *ast* I vow you a temple.'

(37) Liv. 22,53,11: *si sciens fallo,* ***tum*** *me, Iuppiter …, … pessimo leto adficias.*
'If I knowingly speak false, *tum* may you, Jupiter …, afflict me with the most violent death.'

(38) Plaut. *Men.* 746: *si me derides,* ***at*** *pol illum non potes.*
'If you laugh at me, *at* by God, you cannot laugh at that man.'

(39) Lex regia apud Fest. 230M: *si parentem puer uerberit, ast olle plorassit, Ø puer diuis parentum sacer esto.* 'Should a boy strike his parent, and he cries, Ø the boy shall be forfeited to the parental gods.'; Cic. *Phil.* 8,12: *non, si tibi antea profuit, Ø semper proderit.* 'If it benefited you before, Ø it will not always benefit you in the future.'; Tert. *adv. Marc.* 1,11: *si universitas creatoris est, Ø iam nec locum uideo dei alterius.* 'If the universe belongs to the Creator, Ø I see no room now for a second god.'; Cic. *off.* 2,71: *si res in contentionem ueniet, Ø nimirum Themistocles est auctor adhibendus.*

'If this matter becomes the subject of a conflict, Ø Themistocles of course must be taken as authority.'; Cic. *Flacc*. 91: *si dat tantam pecuniam Flacco, Ø nempe idcirco dat, ut* ... . 'If he gives so much money to Flaccus, Ø he gives it no doubt in order to ... '.

The last three examples exhibit the modal markers *iam* 'right away; already', *nimirum* and *nempe* 'without doubt; of course'; modal particles and adverbs (*sane*, *uero*, *certe*, *iam*, ...), also interjections (*(ede)pol*, *hercle*, ...), are common within apodoses, unmarked ones as well as explicitly superordinated ones.

In Late Latin the following combinations also become current: *Si* ..., *atqui* ...; *Si* ..., *uero* ...; *Si* ..., *et* ...; *Si* ..., *sic* ...; *Si* ..., *autem* ...; *Quamquam/etsi* ..., *sed* ... .

A similar, but not identical, array of particles is found with paratactic (imperatival and subjunctival, rarely indicatival) protases:

(40) Plaut. *Capt*. 338: *ausculta, **tum** scies*. 'Listen [= If you listen], *tum* you shall know.'; Cic. *Catil*. 1,33: *hisce ominibus, Catilina,* ... *proficiscere* ..., ***tum*** [omm. codd. alqq.] *tu, Iuppiter* ... *mactabis*. 'With these omens, Catilina, ... go forth [= If you go forth], *tum* you, Jupiter, shall punish ... '

(41) Verg. *ecl*. 3,104: *dic* ..., ***et*** *eris mihi magnus Apollo*. 'Tell [= If you tell] me ..., *et* you shall be to me great Apollo.'[53]

(42) Ter. *Eun*. 251–252: *si negant, Ø laudo ...; negat quis, Ø nego; ait, Ø aio*. 'If they deny it, I praise this ...; [if] someone says no, Ø I say no; [if] someone says yes, Ø I say yes.'; Cato *agr*. 157,4: *brassicam tritam opponito, Ø cito sanum faciet*. 'Apply [= If you apply] ground cabbage, Ø it will quickly heal.'; Petron. 44,3: *serua me, Ø seruabo te*. 'Save [= If you save] me, Ø I will save you' ('Scratch my back, and I'll scratch yours' trans. Heseltine); Petron. 16,2: *aperi, ..., Ø iam scies*. 'Open up [= If you open up] ..., Ø soon you shall

53. From Augustan poetry onwards; current in later Latin. Grecism (καί) according to Hofmann ([1936] 1951: 110).

know.'; Cic. *Catil.* 1,8: *recognosce tandem mecum ..., Ø iam intelleges*. 'Review [= If you review] with me finally ..., Ø you will soon understand.'

Like *tum*, *iam* too occurs as the first element of apodoses: '*Si ..., iam ...*', rare in Classical, not uncommon in Late Latin (see Tert. *adv. Marc.* 1,11 in (39) above); 'imperative ..., *iam*' well attested from Plautus through Classical into Late Latin (*ThLL* s.v. *iam*, col. 106.40–61). Yet *iam* cannot be considered the superordinating connector of its sentence:[54] whereas *et tum*, *at tum* are never inferential and altogether nonexistent in apodoses (and *igitur tum*, *tum igitur*, *tum ergo*, even when inferential, do not open apodoses), *et iam*, *at iam* are attested, if rarely: *expecta*, *et iam hoc uerius dices* 'Wait, and soon you will say this more correctly' Sen. *benef.* 5,12,1; cf. Plaut. *Amph.* 344–345 (*mentire nunc – at iam faciam*, when without speakers' division); *ergo iam*, *iam ergo* and *iam igitur* in apodoses are favorites of Tertullian.

Although poorer in its range of members, the paradigm of explicit superordinators to imperatives is more frequently represented than that of superordinators of conjunctional protases: in the latter the relation is doubly marked (e.g. *Si ..., tum ...*); superordination has a more significant role where there is no explicit subordination.

In both subtypes, almost without exception the marked apodosis follows upon its protasis.

54. *Pace ThLL* s.v. *iam*, col. 128.76, Hand (III 113–114), Hofmann ([1936] 1951: 110, al.), all putting *tum* and *iam* on a par. Cf. below, Section 2.3.3 (v), on the adverb *nunc* retaining its temporal sense in asyndetic sentences that follow contrary-to-fact conditional sentences.

1.3.6.2 Modalizers in interrogatives. Modalizing particles in sentences of the interrogative form (cf. König 1977), subdivided into sentence-part (Pattern Ia) and yes–no questions (Pattern Ib):

Pattern Ia:

(43) Plaut. *Most*. 366: *ubi is est,* ***obsecro****?* 'Where is he, *obsecro*?'; Plaut. *Poen*. 335: *quid mihi molestus es,* ***obsecro****?* 'Why do you bother me, *obsecro*?'

(44) Plaut. *Asin*. 630: *quapropter,* ***quaeso****?* 'How come, *quaeso*?'; Plaut. *Mil*. 1311: *quid modi flendo,* ***quaeso****, hodie facies?* 'What end will you, *quaeso*, put today to your weeping?'

(45) Plaut. *Poen*. 1265: *ubi ea,* ***amabo****, est?* 'Where is she, *amabo*?'; Plaut. *Rud*. 249: *quo,* ***amabo****, ibimus?* 'Whereto, *amabo*, are we going?'; Ter. *Eun*. 915: ***amabo****, quid ait?* '*Amabo*, what does she say?'; Plaut. *Men*. 382: *quin,* ***amabo****, is intro?* 'Why don't you, *amabo*, come inside?'

(46) Ter. *Andr*. 598: ***age*** *igitur, ubi nunc est ipsus?* '*Age*, then, where is he himself now?'; Plaut. *Cas*. 404: ***age****, ecquid fit?* '*Age*, what's going on?'

(47) Plaut. *Most*. 749: ***iam*** *... uoster ... quid sensit senex?* 'What does your old master know [of all this] *iam*?'

(48) Ter. *Andr*. 859: *quid ait* ***tandem****?* '*Tandem* what did he say?'; Plaut. *Men*. 712: *quid* ***tandem*** *admisi in me, ut ... ?* 'What *tandem* have I sinned, that ... ?'; Cic. *Catil*. 1,1: *quo usque* ***tandem*** *abutere, Catilina, patientia nostra?* 'How long *tandem* will you, Catilina, take advantage of our forebearance?', cf. Sall. *Catil*. 20,9

(49) Cic. *Deiot*. 25: *tibi* ***porro*** *inimicus cur esset ... ?* '*Porro* why should he have been an enemy to you?'[55]

55. The indignant questions of the type *quid tibi ... -tio est?* 'How come you ... ?!', current in Comedy, admit modalizers only isolatedly: once [!] *obsecro* (certainly not mitigating) in Plaut. *Poen*. 1322, once interjectional *malum* in *Most*. 6.

Pattern Ib:

(50) Ter. *Eun*. 756: *num formidulosus, **obsecro**, es . . . ?* 'You are of course not frightened, *obsecro* . . . ?'

(51) Ter. *Haut*. 954: *itane **tandem**, **quaeso*** [*qu. est* v.l.], *Menedeme* [*?*] *ut . . . ?* 'Is it *tandem*, *quaeso*, Menedemus, true [?] that . . . ?'

(52) Plaut. *Cist*. 564: ***an**, **amabo**, meretrix illa est . . . ?* '*Amabo*, is that woman . . . a prostitute *an* ('perhaps')?'; Plaut. *Truc*. 364: ***amabo**, sanun es?* '*Amabo*, are you sane?'

(53) Plaut. *Asin*. 475–476: ***age** . . . , sceleste, non audes mihi scelesto subuenire?* '*Age* . . . , you scoundrel, aren't you willing to help me, poor scoundrel that I am?'; Ter. *Eun*. 704: ***age** nunc, belua, credis huic quod dicat?* '*Age* now, you brute, do you believe him what he says?'

(54) Plaut. *Poen*. 475–476: ***an**, **obsecro**, usquam sunt homines uolatici?* :: *Fuere. uerum ego interfeci.* '*Obsecro*, are there *an* ('perhaps') anywhere flying men? :: There have been; but I killed them.'; Cic. *Verr*.II 2,154: ***an** etiam Siculi inuiti contulerunt? non est probabile.* '*An* have even the Sicilians contributed against their will? This is unbelievable.'; Petron. 57,1: *quid rides? **an** tibi non placent lautitiae domini mei?* 'What are you laughing at? . . . Are my master's goodies *an* ('perhaps') not to your taste?'

(55) Cic. *Tusc*. 5,12: *Non mihi uidetur ad beate uiuendum satis posse uirtutem . . .* :: ***Nempe** negas ad beate uiuendum satis posse uirtutem?* :: *Prorsus nego.* 'It does not seem reasonable to me that virtue can be sufficient for leading a happy life . . . :: *Nempe* do you deny that virtue can be sufficient for leading a happy life? :: I do deny it, absolutely.'

(56) Suet. *Aug*. 33,1: *ita fertur interrogasse: **certe** patrem tuum non occidisti?* 'He is said to have put the question in this form: "You *certe* did not kill your father, did you?" '

(57) Plaut. *Amph*. 962: ***iam** uos rediistis in concordiam?* 'Are you *iam* friends again?'; Plaut. *Men*. 550: ***iam**ne intro abiit? abiit.* 'Has she *iam* gone into the house? She has.'; Apul. *met*. 5,28: *ergo **iam** ille bonus filius meus habet amicam aliquam?* 'So *iam* that fine son of mine has some sort of a girlfriend, has he?'; Ter. *Eun*. 492: ***iam**ne imus?* '*Iam* are we going?'

(58) Plaut. *Mil.* 66: *itane aibant* ***tandem****?* 'Did they *tandem* say that?'; Plaut. *Persa* 733: *Redis tu* ***tandem****?* :: *Redeo*. 'Are you back *tandem*? :: I am back.'; Plaut. *Aul.* 298: *Ain* ***tandem****?* :: *Ita esse ut dicis*. 'Do you affirm it *tandem*? :: That it is just as you say.'

(59) Ter. *Andr*. 277–279: *adeon me ignauom putas, adeon* ***porro*** *ingratum . . . , ut . . . ?* 'Do you think me so base, so *porro* ungrateful . . . , that . . . ?'[56]

(60) Ter. *Ad*. 940: *(Promisi ego illis.)* :: *Promisti* ***autem****?* '(I have promised them.) :: Promised, have you *autem*?'.

We do not include in this array of modal particles regular question words, not even those introducing "rhetorical" questions such as *num*, *nonne* (see Brown, Joseph, and Wallace, this vol.) or those capable of modifying the prototypical speech act (*quin*). On the other hand, *an* ('perhaps', Ger. *etwa* [Weydt 1969: 33; König 1977: 125–127]), which figures in direct sentence questions (and in rare assertive sentence-part questions, e.g. Plaut. *Asin*. 717) that are meant to trigger – by virtue of their absurdity – a withdrawing or defensive, antagonistic response (cf. Hand I 341–342, 345–347; Bolkestein 1988), and *nempe*, anticipating reassurance ('really'), are neither of them marks of the interrogativity in their sentences: *an* and *nempe* have in sentences of the interrogative type the same function as in declarative sentences or in sentences apt to be taken as such; note the admissibility of a juxtaposed question word (*-ne*) in sentences with *an*. Significantly, there is much more room for modalization in yes–no questions than in sentence-part questions, and also a greater variety of its exponents (which are commonly rendered without differentiation by expressions such as 'pray', 'for heaven's sake', 'my good man', 'tell me', and tag questions). Juxtapositions such as that of *tandem* and *quaeso* (Ter. *Haut*. 954) or that of *an* and *amabo* (Plaut. *Cist*. 564) and *an* and *obsecro* (Plaut. *Poen*. 475) illustrate the fact that in addition to the subclassification of modal particles into illocution modifiers-specifiers and the rest, there are subsets of different semantic-pragmatic values. Unfortunately, just as the

56. "*Porro* coniunctio est expletiua, alias aduerbium temporis" Donatus ad loc.

interpretational method[57] is insufficient historically and comparatively and sometimes also synchronically once we get into less inclusive groups and endeavor to break out of specific contexts, the paradigmatic procedure fails to determine the functional-semantic range of individual particles of the same Latin paradigm: *obsecro* vs. *quaeso* vs. *amabo* vs. *sis* etc. can be described in terms of their grade of grammaticalization, or functionalization (see Section 3.2.2), also – in part – in terms of the way they specify illocutionary values, but the paradigmatic procedure did not prove conducive to delimiting one vis-à-vis the other as to their accurate functions. And to rely on etymology and original lexical values[58] for that is of course senseless when dealing with delexicalized function words. In this dead language with its closed corpus we remain victims of our shortcomings and subjectivity.

2. Classified particle stock

The inventory of items that serve in Latin as tools for the functions discussed in Section 1 is hereunder grouped

- morphologically (Section 2.1):
  (i) by derivation; (ii) by inflection and juxtaposition or univerbation
- and semantically-logically (Section 2.2).

Besides depicting the bulk of the tools in the fully evolved Classical language, these lists furnish basic internal historical information as to the attestation of individual items. All chronological and register/genre indications refer to the word under consideration EXCLUSIVELY IN ITS USE AS PARTICLE, i.e., AS PERFORMING ONE OF THE FUNCTIONS (A), (B), (C), (D); however, the problematics inherent in classifying and identifying these, and

57. Insightful interpretation with bearing on our questions can be found in Risselada 1989 (374–375) and 1993 (esp. at 192–194), which dealt in much detail with the complex of interrogative directives and particles in dramatic dialogue, both those of the *tandem* and those of the *quaeso* kind (e.g. "urgency", "directive implication"). A recent analysis of individual particles that occur in questions (Risselada 2005) has as its starting point a subclassification into "illocutionary" particles and "discourse"-related ones, which does not tally with the categories adopted here.

58. As is reflected in Hofmann ([1936] 1951: 127–134).

especially the discourse markers (b), should be kept in mind. Words whose status as function words is doubtful or unclarified are bracketed. The occasional indications "CL" (Classical Latin), "LL" (Late Latin), "SL" (Silver Latin), "R" (Romance) are to be read as "in use as function word (essentially) not earlier than …"; "Arch" (Archaic Latin), "EL" (Early Latin), as "(essentially) not after mid third century BCE / 80 BCE, respectively"; using these chronological markings we disregard reappearances of Early Latin and Archaic items in self-professed Archaists such as Gellius or Fronto, as well as that of Classical items in Late Latin and Medieval Classicizing literature. The register, discourse mode, and genre markings F(amiliar), Pop(ular), El(evated), T(echnical), D(irect)S(peech), D(ialogical), N(arrative), Ex(pository), P(oetry) refer to marked up to exclusive use (cf. Section 4.4).

2.1 Morphology

2.1.1 Derivation

The inventory, arranged below by derivation base, includes derivatives whose association with the derivation base is semantically and formationally justifiable only through Italic or by extra-Italic Indo-European material (as opposed to derivation that is transparent in Latin itself, see Section 3), marked by an appended asterisk.

Relative-stem derived
quamobrem; LL *quam ob causam*; *quapropter*; *quare*; *quocirca*; *quoque**

Interrogative-stem derived
quın; EL *quippe**; *at-quī* (LL *at-quin*); (*e*)*quidem* [?]; *utique*(a); *utiquam*(b)

Demonstrative-stem derived
[*hinc*]; [*abhinc*]; [… *haec*]; [*istim*]; [*istinc*]; *iam*; (-)*inde*(c); LL *i-t-a*; *i-t-a-que*; LL [*i-t-em*]; LL *i-t-erum*; *eo*; … *eā*; LL *id ipsum*; EL … *illā*; *tamen*; *tandem*; *tum*; LL *tumque*; *tunc*; LL *sīc*(d); [*sōc*](d); [*olim*]

Non-Latin demonstrative-stem derived*
enim and *enimuero*, *etenim*; *nam* and *namque*; *nempe*; Arch *nemut*(e); *nunc*

Reflexive-stem derived [?]
sed (f)

Pre-/suffixed pronominal forms
e-quidem; *nun-c**; *tun-c*; *si-c*; [*sō-c*]

Substantive-stem derived
fors; SL *forte*; *modo*; [*oppido*][g]

Adjective-stem derived
certe; *plane*; *sane*; *maxime*; *potissimum*; [*primum*]; SL *praecipue*; CL *ceterum*; CL *solum*; CL *tantum*; *uerum*; *uero*; SL *manifesto*

Participle-stem derived
praesertim

Preposition/preverb derived
pro(r)sus/-um; SL, LL *ru*(*r*)*sus*; *contra*; *interim*; *demum*[h]; Arch *demus* [?][h]; *denique* [?][h]

Nominal/verbal stem
LL [?], R *magis*; *uel*

Obscure/unclarified derivation base*[59]
et; Arch, EL *ast*; *at*; *aut*; *autem*; *ac*; *atque*; *-que*, *-c* (*neque*, *nec*); *-ue* (*siue*, *seu*); *an*; *ergō*, *ergŏ*; *igitur*; *immo*[i]; *-dum* and CL *nedum*; LL *donec* (coord.)[j] and LL [*dunc*][j]; *denique*; *etiam*; *ecce*; *quidem*; *equidem*[k]; *porrō*[l]; *saltem*

Predication derived
dumtaxat; *scilicet*; *uidelicet*; *forsan*; EL *fors fuat an*; *forsit*; *forsitan*; *fortasse* (*an*); *fortassis*; *nimirum*; *age/-ite*[m]; *sodes*; *sis*, *sultis*; *amabo*; *quaeso*; *credo*

Greek
nē, *nae*; *porrō*[l]; R **era*[n]

(a) See Section 3.2.2.4 (iv).
(b) An Apuleian idiom.
(c) -i- stem; Leumann's (1977: 482) suggestion to take *inde* as a back-formation from *de/ex/pro-inde* etc. (which can account for the nonexistence of a short variant *in(de)*) is not to be ruled out: frequency counts (Hilton 1997/98: 202) show *proin(de)* as frequent as *inde* already in Plautus. This does not detract from the importance of the later functional distribution of the various forms (Hilton 1997/98: 203).
(d) Cf. *sam*, *sas*, *sos* XII Tab., Enn. Cf. Endnote (e) of Section 2.1.2. Also associated with the reflexive-pronoun stem on account of, inter alia, Italic: Osc. **svaí**, Umbr. **sve**, *sue* '*si*'.
(e) "*Nemut* 'nisi etiam' uel 'nempe' … ⟨Naevius … Bell⟩i Punici …" Fest./Paul. Fest. 162/163M.
(f) Most plausibly shortened abl. form of **su̯e/o-*. Cf., however, Char. *Gramm.* I 112.5–6: "*sedum* … antiqui pro 'sed' ponebant".
(g) Dative of 'town' according to a far-fetched (popular) etymology: Don. ad Ter. *Hec*. 238, Paul. Fest. 184M.

59. Obscure in terms of Latin morphology. A good deal of these items have counterparts in other Indo-European languages; cf. Sections 3.1, 3.2.1 (i) and 3.2.1 (ii).

(h) See Endnote (b) of Table 4 and Note 86.
(i) See Melchert (1985); Rosén (2003: 179).
(j) See Section 4.3 with Note 109.
(k) *E-* has Italic and other Indo-European cognates in the domain of particles.
(l) Ablative of an obscure stem? Most likely a loan-word. Unless representing a misinterpretation as (pseudo-)ablative (Leumann 1977: 426), POROD of the boustrophedon inscription *CIL* I^2 560 (FERI POROD in a kitchen scene) is to be kept apart, although admittedly 'beat it with leek' (Warmington, *Remains of Old Latin* IV 199 ad loc.) does not tally with any known – or imaginable – handling of leek (*porrum*).
(m) See Note 91.
(n) Posited pre-Romance for items meaning 'well; again'; ἄρα [?] Meyer-Lübke (1935) no 2886.

See Section 2.3.1 for correlations between type of derivation and the four functional classes (a)–(d).

2.1.2 Flexion and adjunction

Adv. *-ē*
certe; *plane*; *sane*; *maxime*; SL *praecipue*; *sĕd*[(a)]

-am
iam and *etiam*, *nunciam*; *nam* and *namque*; *tamen*; *tandem*

-ā
contra; *interea*; *postea*; *praeterea*; *propterea*; *quapropter*; [*suad*][(b)]; *ităque*[(c)] and LL *ită*[(c)]

-ō
eo; *modo*; *quoque*; *porrō*[(d)]; [*sōc*][(e)]; *uero*; SL *manifesto*; [*oppido*]

-e
SL *forte*

-ī
atquī and LL *atquin*; [*hic*]; *quin*; [*sic*]; *utique*; *utiquam*

-im/-in-c
[*abhinc*]; *enim*; [*hinc*]; *interim*; [*istim*, *istinc*]; [*olim*]; *praesertim*; *inde*[(f)]; *abinde*; *dein*(*de*); *exim*, *exin*(*de*); *proin*(*de*); [*perinde*]

-um, -un-c
demum; LL *iterum*; [*num*]; *nunc*; *tum*; *tunc*; *-dum*

acc. *-um* (of adj.)
CL *ceterum*; *potissimum*; [*primum*]; CL *solum*; CL *tantum*; *uerum*

nom.[?] *-us*
Arch *demus*

nom.[?] *-s*
fors

-em
autem; *quidem*; *equidem*; [*item*]; *nempe*; *saltem* and LL *saltim*; *tamen*(g)

-dem
tandem

-pe
nempe; *quippe*

-de
inde; [*abinde*]; *deinde*; *exinde*; *proinde*

-que, *-quam*
atque(h); *itaque*; *namque*; *quoque*(h); LL *tumque*; *utique*; *denique*(i); *utiquam*

-dum
CL *nedum*

-ut
Arch *nemut*

-uersus/sum
pro(*r*)*sus*/*sum*; SL, LL *rursus*

Pre-/suffixed
equidem; LL *donec* (coord.) and [*dunc*](j); *nunc*; *tunc*; *sic*; [*sōc*]

Particle compound
atquī; *etiam*; *nunciam*; *etenim*; *enimuero*; *siue*

Univerbated
ideō; *idcircō*(k); *nihilominus*; [*hodie*]

Prepositional/adverbial-case phrase
quamobrem; LL *quam ob causam*; [*inter haec*]; [*post haec*]; *quare*; [*admodum*]; *imprimis*; [*oppido*](l); *profecto*(m); LL *denuo*; LL *post modum*; *per se*; [*hodie*]

Preposition + adverb/adverbial case[60]
[*abhinc*]; *adeo*; CL *adhuc*; *ab*/*de*/*ex*/[*per*]/*pro*/[*sub*]*inde*(f); *intereā*(n); *posteā*(n); [*posthāc*]; EL *postillā*; *praetereā*; *propterеā*; *quāpropter*; *quocircā*; [*postibi*]; [*postinde*]; [*posthinc*]; [*praeter-hāc*]

Ø ending
LL [?], R *magis*; *uel*

Unanalyzable/isolated
tamen(g) (o)

(a) **Sēd* becoming the short-vowelled connector 'but' (and 'sondern' [!]) "durch proklitische Verkürzung" [?] (Leumann 1977: 559); cf. Endnote (f) of Section 2.1.1.

60. Proliferating in Late Latin.

(b) "*Suad* … 'sic' " Fest. 351M.
(c) Iambic shortening of **itā* plausible. On *itāque* 'and so' vs. *ítăque* 'consequently' see Servius, *Commentarius art. Don.*, *gramm.* IV 427.13–19; the distinction appears artificial: textual testimony points to *-ă*, and both functions are well unifiable in one lexeme. Cf. Leumann (1977: 238, 240).
(d) See Endnote (l) of Section 2.1.1.
(e) From a dubious gloss "*soc* 'ita' " Gloss. V 245.9, VII 275; cf. [?] Umbr. *eso(c)*, **esu**(**k**).
(f) See Endnote (c) of Section 2.1.1.
(g) If indeed a dissimilatory issue of **tam-em*; otherwise unanalyzable.
(h) From the semantic angle not decomposable into … + *que*; see, however, Note 73.
(i) *-que* not detachable.
(j) See Section 4.3 with Note 109.
(k) Modelled after *ideō*, originally 'this because of that'.
(l) **ob-pedom* 'by the bottom'; cf. Endnote (g) of Section 2.1.1.
(m) The origin in the (not attested) prepositional phrase **pro facto* is phonologically not unobjectionable.
(n) Leumann (1977: 483) identifies the entire array of these ablative *-ā* forms as separative ablatives, e.g. "nachher von da an". Ernout & Meillet (1959 s.vv., at 527) differ, in classifying these combinations as prepositional phrases which were subject to analogy: *post* (originally + abl.; Italic evidence) gave rise to *ante/praeter/inter eā*.
(o) See also in "Obscure/unclarified derivation base", Section 2.1.1 above.

See Section 2.3.2 for correlations between inflection and the four functional classes (a)–(d).

2.2 Semantic background

Setting out from general categories that branch into a continuum of subdivisions of the semantic domain, we undertook in Tables 4–6 to map the functional boundaries of the individual particles in order to grasp the semantic components in which these "functions" are anchored. Chronological indications refer to time limits of the specific semantics in the given rubric alone.

2.2.1 *Functional mapping*

Table 4. Connective particles

Sequence[61]		Cause	Juncture and separation[62]							
Temporal[63]	Inferential-conclusive; consequential	Explaining or justifying	Equating	Adjoining (only)	Adjoining + supplemental	Supplemental (only)	Disjunctive	Contrasting (only)	Adjoining + contrasting	Adjoining + correcting (substituting)
tum, tunc	ergo	enim	SL scilicet	autem	atque, ac	praeterea	aut	N contra	sed	immo[r]
N, Ex tumque	igitur	enimuero	CL uidelicet	LL ergo	et	etiam	siue, seu	LL e contra	at	sed
iam	tum	etenim	id est	LL tamen	-que, -c	porro		tamen	Arch, EL ast	uerum
inde	EL ast	nam	CL, SL quippe	LL nam	uel	quoque[k]		nihilominus	atquī(n)	LL, R magis
[abinde]	EL atque	P namque		LL enim	T -ue	SL adhuc		CL uero[l]	immo	ceterum[s]
dein(de)	LL et	quippe		LL uero	LL siue, seu	SL immo		autem	uerum	at
[exim, exinde]	LL sic	(LL ceterum)[j]			adeo	R sic[g]		Cic., SL rursus	CL ceterum	
[proin(de)][a]	ítăque[f]	(LL sed)[j]			item			Cic., SL interea	CL nedum	
[hinc]	eo	(LL at)[j]			R sic[g]			SL interim		
[abhinc]	inde				LL saltem			LL denuo		
CL, N adhuc	[hinc]							LL iterum[m]		
[olim]	ideo							LL [?], R magis		
demum[/-us][b]	LL ideoque							SL immo		
denique[b]	idcirco							LL porro[n]		
F nunc[c]	quocirca							LL sane[o]		
[repente]	quare							LL plane		
interea	quamobrem							(quidem)[p]		
interim	proin(de)[a]							LL enim [?]		
postea	exinde							tandem [?][q]		

Table 4 (continued). Connective particles

Sequence[61]		Cause	Juncture and separation[62]							
Temporal	Inferential-conclusive; consequential	Explaining or justifying	Equating	Adjoining (only)	Adjoining + supple-mental	Supple-mental (only)	Disjunc-tive	Contrasting (only)	Adjoining + contrasting	Adjoining + correcting (substituting)
[postibi]	propterea									
EL postilla	quapropter									
[postinde]	sic(g)									
[posthinc]	ita									
[post]	tum									
[primum]	SL, LL denique									
SL, LL [in primis]	LL utique(h)									
[hodie]	LL, R donec(i)									
tandem	LL, R dunc(i)									
modo	LL nempe									
igitur [?](d)										
porro(e)										
ita										
itāque(f)										
LL [sic]										
LL [item]										

61. "Sequence" in its narrow sense of actual temporal and logical progression. As a matter of fact, any sentential tool effecting coherence or cohesion is sequential, as all verbal representation – in contrast to that of the plastic arts (as illustriously propounded in Lessing's *Laokoon*) – is necessarily linear.
62. As is well known, the copulative and adversative particles form a continuum of one long semantic field; this, too, may account for the many remarks made by ancient grammarians to the effect of the indistinct meaning or references of words figuring in these lists.
63. Distal and proximal, absolute and relational. Related spatial references are not considered.

(a) Normally inferential or exhortative, but cf. Paul. Fest. 75M: "… *exinde*, *perinde*, *proinde*, *subinde*, quae item [i.e., like *deinde*] tempus significant." *Perinde* 'equally as' is not attested in temporal deixis, *subinde* 'from then on; repeatedly' (R 'often') is not a likely discourse marker.

(b) In their use as temporal adverbs, *denique* denotes a relative end-point, the superlatival *demum* the absolute end. Even if not tallying with etymology (cf. Note 86), this is borne out by some authors' usage, e.g. Lucretius (Gutiérrez Galindo 1989). Note that the sequential-temporal sense of *demum* is surpassed by far, in diversity as well as in frequency, by its use as focus marker (Rosén 1993).

(c) The temporal element is barely detectable in the use of *nunc* as a discourse marker (cf. Section 3.1).

(d) The temporal reference which is ascribed to *igitur* by Festus ("apud antiquos ponebatur pro 'inde' et 'postea' et 'dum' " Paul. Fest. 105M) and Nonius (128M) appears to stem from a misinterpretation of its use as apodotic superordinator (example: Plaut. *Amph.* 210).

(e) Although attested as a temporal adverb that refers to the future or distant past (Calboli Montefusco 1972) – and characterized as such by grammarians (Donatus, Audax) – the temporal component is not evident in the use of *porro* itself as a particle; cf. Endnote (l) of Section 2.1.1.

(f) Cf. Endnote (c) of Section 2.1.2.

(g) Through its Late Latin use as indicating temporal sequence, *sic* became in various Romance dialects, notably in Rumanian, the connector 'and'.

(h) Isolated; Hofmann & Szantyr (1965: 493): "hinter den Fragepronomina nimmt es oft seit Tert. folgernde Bedeutung = *ergo*, *igitur* an".

(i) See Section 4.3 with Note 109.

(j) See below, Section 2.2.2 (iii).

(k) Translational equivalent for -τε (Biblical and Late Latin [Svennung 1935: 491–492]), but also for δέ (Einar Löfstedt 1911: 138; Svennung 1935: 493), on the whole rare as an entire-sentence connector (as compared to, e.g., *etiam*), (*OLD* s.v. *quoque*, 2c), becoming somewhat more current in Late Latin.

(l) *Vero* cannot be shown to function as a cohesive device before Terence. In Plautus it is, rare borderline cases excepted, a validating, affirming particle.

(m) Translating δέ in Late Latin (Einar Löfstedt 1911: 177); earlier attestation as such dubious.

(n) Translating δέ in Late Latin (third–fourth century + *Vitae Patrum*; Hofmann & Szantyr 1965: 491–492); occasional adversative connotations already in earlier Latin (Lucretius, see Section 4.2.2) and Petronius (Petersmann 1977: 252).

(o) In Palladius (Svennung 1935: 405) translating δέ and varying with *autem* and *tamen* in the *Itinerarium Egeriae* (Einar Löftstedt 1911: 322–323), a process comparable to that of *uero* 'in fact' > 'but'.

(p) Contrasting only as a secondary effect of its focussing function.

(q) Highly suspect as adversative, *pace* Non. (405M) "*tandem* significat et 'tamen' " and Hofmann & Szantyr (1965: 497) following Godel (1949); this is a meaning not required by the passages cited there.

(r) *Immo* as a substituting post-negation particle (Ger. *sondern*, Sp. *sino*) is operative between sentence constituents.
(s) Liv. 9,21,1 post-negation, constituent-substituting *ceterum* (isolated).

Table 5. Modalizing particles: affirmation and attenuation

Reinforcing			Mitigating	
Assertion, enquiry		Entreaty[64]	Assertion, enquiry	Entreaty[64]
Complying-conceding	Reaffirming			
certe	certe	amabo	EL fors fuat an	amabo
sane	sane	quaeso/-umus	P forsit	quaeso/-umus
LL plane	quidem[(a)]	sis/sultis	Pop forsitan	sis/sultis
nempe	equidem[(a)]	sodes	P forsan	sodes
CL utique	plane	proin(de)	P fors	proin(de)
fortasse	Arch nemut [?]	quin	fortasse	quin
quidem[(a)]	SL manifesto	(modo)[(e)]	EL, SL fortassis	(modo)[(e)]
equidem[(a)]	EL, SL [oppido]	iam[(f)]	EL, SL fortassean	age/-ite[(g)]
	nē	[hodie][(b)]	SL forte	-dum
	CL, LL utique	age/-ite[(g)]	LL utique	
	Apul. utiquam	-dum	an[(h)]	
	nimirum	denique	credo	
	EL, P enim	tandem		
	uero			
	DS profecto			
	[hodie][(b)]			
	CL quippe[(c)]			
	nempe[(c)]			
	prorsus			
	CL scilicet[(c)]			
	CL uidelicet[(c)]			
	quīn			
	saltem[(d)]			

(a) The reinforcing and conceding values of *(e)quidem* are secondary effects of its singling-out function (cf. Section 1.2.3).

64. As noted (Section 1.3.6.2), we have no effective means of determining whether the modal markers of the type *quaeso*, *amabo*, etc., that occur in directive utterances, detract from or reinforce the insistence and urgency of the demand. The items under this rubric are naturally all D(ialogical) and figure mainly in F(amiliar) diction.

(b) It is doubtful whether *hodie*, in addition to its expressive force (threat – Don. Ter. *Andr*. 196, anger – Ter. *Ad*. 215, 660; see Sections 1.2.3, 3.2.2.5) also functions as an asseverative modalizer (or perhaps discourse organizer).
(c) Imparting evidential modality; on their distribution see Núñez (2001).
(d) The normally constituent focusing *saltem* ('at any rate'), when adsentential, is endowed with modalizing force.
(e) 'Just'; although prominently figuring in directive utterances with an effect of illocutionary force (Risselada 1994), I doubt that this effect can be held apart from the isolating-focusing *modo* 'just; only'.
(f) Kroon and Risselada's account (1998, 2002/03) of a focusing *iam* would be acceptable to me only if sentence highlighting were to be included within the parameters of focus marking. Instances of *iam* adduced to substantiate their claim of (nominal-) constituent marking (1998: 439–441, 2002/03: 72–73), such as *id ita esse uos iam iudicare poteritis*, are all interpretable as instances of a modalizer (Ger. *schon*); furthermore, the function of *iam* with the nuancing it lends to an apodosis such as *. . . , iam scies* ("relational" marking: 1998: 441–443, 2002/03: 73–75), when not temporal ('soon'), is asseverative-reinforcing, i.e., falling under modal marking.
(g) See Note 91.
(h) 'Perhaps', occurring principally in interrogative sentences; see Section 1.3.6.2. Cf. etymological considerations in Section 3.1, Note 72.

Table 6. Focus markers: isolation and distinctiveness[65]

Singling out	Expanding	Excluding
quidem	adeo	modo
equidem	etiam	CL solum
El, Ex demum	et	CL tantum
denique	SL -que(g)	
maxime	uel	
praesertim	quoque	
SL praecipue	SL, LL, El adhuc(h)	
imprimis	R *era(i)	
potissimum		
CL nedum		
saltem		
T dumtaxat(a)		
ecce(b)		
profecto(c)		
uero(c)		
SL, LL utique(d)		
Arch nemut [?]		
EL autem [?](e)		
LL per se		
LL, R id ipsum(f)		

(a) See Section 3.2.2.4 (iii); vanishingly rare as sentence modifier: Lucr. 2,123.
(b) Focusing the predicate (Cuzzolin 1998).
(c) *Profecto*, *uero*, and a few other asseverative modal particles serve also to put in focus and to lend saliency to extraposed sentence constituents when pronominally resumed (Section 1.1.4).
(d) See Sections 3.2.2.4 (iv), 2.3.3 (ii).
(e) See Kroon (1995: 229–246) on *autem* as marker of "parallel" and of "absolute" foci.
(f) Meyer-Lübke (1935) no 4256.
(g) In the collocations *hodieque* 'even nowadays' (e.g. Sen. *epist*. 90,16), *nuperque* 'quite recently' (e.g. Plin. *nat.* 5,4).
(h) This basically temporal adverb and discourse marker (see Section 4.3 (i)) takes on, especially in Late Latin, the marking of an augmentation ('even') (Hofmann & Szantyr 1965: 485).
(i) See Endnote (n) of Section 2.1.1.

65. Here we have to do with a purely function-based class, with subtypes of diverse contextual purport (see Section 1.1.4).

2.2.2 *Semantic affinities and semantic shifts*

The semantic-referential mapping in Tables 4–6, with its chronological indications, reflects marked semantic affinity between domains and semantic shifts (with which we are acquainted in various other languages) between these domains:[66]

(i) Manner adverbs turning into temporal-conclusive (discourse) markers: *ita* 'so; then' already in Livy; *sic* 'so' > 'then', isolated in Classical, stronger in Late Latin up to its becoming a copulative connector in Romance; and cf. *itaque* 'therefore';

(ii) Apparent shifts within the broad spectrum encompassing sequence, juncture, separation, and explanation (Table 4: *tum*, ...; *ergo*, ...; *enim* ...; *scilicet*, ...; *autem*, ...; *atque*, ...; *praeterea*, ...; *aut*, ...; *contra*, ...; *sed*, ...; *immo*, ...) – inasmuch as they do not represent 1) semantically indiscriminate discourse marking, or 2) Late Latin bleaching processes – indicate the continuity within these fields and the blurred borderlines between them;

(iii) Alleged causal meaning ("quasi-kausale Funktion" Hofmann & Szantyr 1965: 488) of adversative connectors (*sed*, *ceterum*, *at*) in Late and sporadically in Classical Latin in fact occurs when these introduce pseudo-causal clauses, that are not propositional and state the reason for uttering the preceding clause (unless they come from Late sources in which the logical distinctions of sentence connection have become blurred and the particles reduced to generalized continuation markers, e.g. *ergo* in the *Itinerarium Egeriae*; cf. Section 4.3 (v));

(iv) Asseverative markers, apt to convey confidence as to the validity and actuality of the proposition, tend also to convey compliance and concessivity (*certe*, *sane*);

(v) Affirming/mitigating modifiers ('I suppose, presumably') are often employed ironically, thus discharging the opposite effect, argumentatively, to that of their morphologically motivated lexical sense;

(vi) Dubitative markers ('perhaps') serve, on the argumentative level, to reinforce and lend credibility to a following adversative clause, of the type

66. On specifically Early and Late Latin developments, see Sections 4.1–4.3.

‘He may be a professor, but he is dumb’ (e.g. Cic. *Tusc*. 1,3; Kühner & Stegmann [1912–1914] 1955: § 147.7 at I 813).

2.3 Correlations

Several general conclusions as to correlations with the four function classes emerge from the preceding comprehensive tables.

2.3.1 Derivation : function

(i) Particles derived from an obscure derivation base, not unequivocally ascertainable in terms of Latin, are, by and large, connectors (*et*, *aut*, ...); if these – rarely! – function also as discourse markers, they belong to narrative discourse and mark chunks of limited measure. Few are focus markers: *(e)quidem*, *ecce*, *saltem*; *-dum* is modal;

(ii) Latin pronoun-stem derived particles are all cohesion markers (connectors or adverbs (a) and discourse organizers (b)) with the notable exception of modal *quīn*, and – if indeed pronoun-derived – focusing *(e)quidem*. No such correlation holds for pronoun-stem derived particles that are not motivated in Latin itself: *nam* (a) – *iam* (c) – and *tam*, *quam*; *tum* (a) – **num-c* (b) – but *-dum* (c), etc.;

(iii) The borrowings from Greek, rare in the framework of particles, are functionally not uniform; none are found among cohesion markers;

(iv) Adjective-stem and substantive-stem derived particles belong in their majority to class (c) – they are sentence modalizing (but not of the “extreme” type which modify the prototypical illocution force of sentence types): *certe*, *sane*, *modo*, ... Others are focus markers: *solum*, *tantum*. *Verum* (and later *uero*) and *ceterum* are the only class (a) and (b) particles in this derivational set;

(v) Predication-derived particles are modalizing (c), the only exception being the focusing *dumtaxat*;

(vi) Illocution-specifying particles from among the modalizers are – except pronominal *quīn* ‘why not ... ?’ and *proin(de)* ‘so then’ – all predication derived, some are verb forms (*amabo*, *quaeso*), others subordinate clauses (*sodes*).

2.3.2 Inflection : function

Correlations between inflection and function classes are scarce:

(i) Accusatival forms (*-am*, *-um*) do not figure among the modalizers (c);

(ii) On the other hand, these may be found among focus markers (d): *demum*, *tantum*, *solum* (or occasionally among cohesion markers: *ceterum*, *uerum*), as may also other adverb formations: *praesertim*, *praecipue*;

(iii) By and large, one can find the various adverbial case endings spread over all four function classes.

2.3.3 Semantics and function

Understandably, the semantic-logical sets of data clearly correlate with the four function classes (even beyond the set of isolation and distinctiveness which coincides entirely with function class (d)).

(i) Since all semantic categories in the domain of affirming and attenuating pertain to the proposition as a whole, to its modality, and to the speaker/writer's attitude towards it, some with values of emotive expressivity and argumentative force attached, these are all of class (c); some may undergo semantic shifts within their domain (Table 5 above and Section 4.3 (iv) below); a small fraction of these are capable of specifying the illocutionary force of the sentence, mostly turning it into a directive: *quin*, *age*, *proinde*, *amabo*, *quaeso*, *sodes* – but not *sis*! (Bolkestein 1977: 63);

(ii) Several affirming particles (notably *uero*, *profecto*), when attached to an anaphoricum, mostly one resumptive of an extraposed thema, become a sentence-constituent focusing mark (d); since this constituent becomes the rheme of the proposition, this focusing capability is tantamount to sentential affirmation (c);

(iii) *Enim* is one of the rare particles that participate in the semantic field of affirmation (thus belonging to class (c)) as well as in that of causality (thus performing an (a) function);

(iv) That the domains of juncture and separation, explaining, and largely also that of sequence are populated by particles carrying out function (a), comes as no surprise. These cohesion marks are likely, more than items in other domains, to move from one semantic group to another

(see above, Section 2.2.2 (iii) and below, Section 4.3 (v)). It is also by virtue of its basic semanticism that a particle is liable to undergo a shift from one functional class to another: *uero* 'in truth' (c) → 'however' (a) (in the course of Early Latin); *sane* 'assuredly' (c) → 'though' (restrictive, concessive) → 'however' (a) (Late Latin);[67]

(v) The particles bearing temporal semantic value are found in classes (a) and (b); very few particles of basic temporal reference serve as modal markers (c): intensifying *-dum*, *iam* 'already; right away', *tandem* 'finally', and several as focusing devices (d): *demum*, perhaps *denique*; the majority, however, are both tools of cohesion and of other discourse marking, e.g. *tum* 'then' as apodotic connector and as a frequent transition marker in narrative. *Nunc* is a notable exception: whereas it does function in discourse structuration, especially in oral communication and informal style,[68] it is never the conjoining element. Where, following contrary-to-fact conditional sentences or wishes, *nunc* appears to be an adversative connector (*OLD* s.v., 11; Touratier 1994: 676), it is as a matter of fact the temporal adverb 'now' denoting the factual reality in contrast with the hypothetical situation and it is the asyndesis which provides the connection (cf. Section 1.3.6.1 on *iam* in asyndetic apodoses); note the same syndetically: *sed nunc* . . . ; *nunc uero* . . . ; *nunc autem*, . . . ;

(vi) The two subclasses of (a) – (α) the connectors, e.g. *at*, *uerum* (which comprise the component of adjoining) and (β) the anaphoric adverbs, e.g. *praeterea*, *uero* – established syntactically (above, Sections 1.1.1 and 1.3.5), stay usually distinct; rare shifts between the two can be exemplified by the connector *immo* 'rather', becoming additionally an adverb (Rosén 2003: 169–170). These two syntactic subsets do, however,

67. Cf., inter alia, Heb. *'åmnåm* 'indeed; to be sure': largely concessive, root *'-m-n* of *'ĕmet* 'truth'.

68. Cf. Risselada (1996: 124). A modalizing value, which might be surmised from instances such as Sall. *Iug.* 85,13: *comparate nunc, Quirites, . . . me hominem nouom* 'Go ahead, citizens of Rome, and compare me, an upstart, . . . !' or Plaut. *Aul.* 777: *sat habeo. age nunc loquere quid uis* 'Enough of that! Now speak up and say what you want!' (Hand IV 341–342; *OLD* s.v., 6: "adding a hortatory tone"), is highly questionable; *nunc*, not unlike *hodie*, derives its urging nuance directly from the temporal meaning of immediacy.

differ in respect of their capability to function in discourse organization: while the connectors do not play a significant role in the architecture of the text and only isolatedly serve as discourse structuring elements, and then as markers of smaller chunks of the discourse (of asides, parts of syllogisms, change of one element of the state of affairs, e.g. of a participant [by *at*]), they as a rule do not mark continuation, transition et sim. between larger chunks of the discourse.[69] This function is usually carried out by the adverbs in class (a), which are to a large extent of temporal semantic background.

3. Sources of the particle system of Classical Latin

The well-stocked inventory of Classical Latin particles as delineated in Section 2 stems from diverse sources.

3.1 Indo-European particles

The percentage of functioning particles that we find originating from – or, rather, genealogically corresponding to – entities functioning in other ancient Indo-European languages as particles is not overly high, even exceedingly small, provided one refrains from unduly complicated etymological analyses or forced semantic stratagems, thus maneuvering the candidate into a set of newly found relatives. It is our firm conviction that one must stick to the principle of both morphological conformity and reasonable functional affinity when determining cognates, also – and in particular – in the much abused domain of Indo-European particles. The arbitrariness necessarily attached to "reasonable" affinity can be mitigated by assessing the frequency with which a semantic or functional field encompassing the values in question is met in real life and also by exploring recurrence of diachronic shifts from one such value to another in historical languages. Thus the resulting inventory of Indo-European ones from among the Latin particles is reduced to the following:

69. Only with Late Latin bleaching and blending of some connectors, these connectors too then become transition markers: *ergo*, *tamen*; cf. Section 4.3 (v).

The sentence connectors and cohesion markers (a) *et*; *-que*; *neque*; *-ue*; *immo*;[70] *sĕd*;[71] *nam* and *enim* are matched outside Italic in their affirmative sense; others (*at aut autem*) already require wilder segmentation in order to obtain the required match; see below, Section 3.2.1 (i).

The affirmative and causal connective adverb *enim* (Naev. →) as it stands within Italic, and then by its extra-Italic links, provides a concrete example of the distribution of functions of a Latin particle over corresponding entities.

(i) In Italic a set of connectors (with no causal-justificatory shading):

Osc. **íní(m)**, ειvει̧μ, *inim*; Umbr. *enem, eine,* ***ene*** [exclusively between sentences]; Paelign. *inim, inom* 'and'

Umbr. **inu(m)(e)k** '(and) then' coordinating instructions, superordinating (apodotic)

Umbr. **inenek** (< **inem-ek* ?) [hapax], coordinating, topic shift

Umbr. *en(n)o(m)*, **enu** '(and) then', coordinating instructions

Umbr. **enumek** 'then' superordinating

Umbr. **enuk** 'then' superordinating

(ii) Outside Italic, various pronoun-derived affirmative particles:

Ind. *anā́* 'hereby; for sure' and shorter-stem particles in other branches of Indo-European, e.g. Gk. νή.

Among modalizing particles (c) only *iam*, with adequate Balto-Slavic and Germanic correspondences, and *an*[72] meet the requirements of an IE-particle status, and among focus markers (d) only *quŏque*.[73]

70. A good example of unsatisfactory morphological analysis (Melchert 1985: **id-ma*) together with a good functional-semantic match: *immo* acts beside its corrective role also as connector of enumerated items in narrative, just like Hitt. *imma* in its principal role (Rosén 2003: 179). The reverse situation usually applies in etymological research.

71. Semantic correspondence still plausible: words (Indic, Armenian, Slavic) denoting remoteness.

72. The longstanding complicated issue of whether the Latin particle (with the Gothic question word *an*) is to be kept apart from the Greek modalizer ἄν or considered one Indo-European item is resolved for Latin by the fact that *an* is actually not a token of interrogativity, but of potentiality, figuring in challenging questions that call for denial or retraction; cf. above, Section 1.3.6.2.

73. Skt. *kva ca* 'and wherever' (∼ 'at any rate' Wackernagel 1892: 418 = 1953: 86); the two may represent independent developments.

Since discourse marking (b) is a function that words fulfill on the strength of conventionalized use (see Section 1.1.2), one does not expect it to be a common property of Indo-European cognates, or, should there be similarity in marking, this similarity can be taken to have developed independently. This goes, e.g., for *tum*, with Avestan and Gothic parallels. Yet *nunc* (**num-ce*) (Naev., Enn. →) has an intriguing set of correspondences, which show remarkable matching of discourse-introductory function and suggest that – not unlike Hitt. *ki-* of *kinun* 'now' – it is the appended **-k* that lends the word its deictic-temporal meaning 'now; at this time':[74]

Hitt. *ki-nun*, Indic *nú*, *nūn-ám*, Gk. νῦν, νυν, Goth. *nu*, OIr. *nū* (*nuu*), *nu* 'at present'; Hitt. *nu* discourse-introducing particle, connecting main clauses, denoting temporal sequence and result, introducing a logical inference, also superordinative to temporal, relative, and conditional clauses, Indic *nū́*, *nūn-ám* discourse-introducing, affirming, and urging with directives 'surely, precisely; well; so …', Gk. νυ(ν), Goth. *nu*, Toch. A *nŭ* and B *no*, Lith. *nù* 'so; well then', OIr. *no-*, *nu-* verbal particle, crutch.[75] *Num* as question word introducing (in Early Latin not necessarily rhetorical) sentence questions (Bennett 1910: 473–475) is also derivable from this discourse structuring function; see Hofmann & Szantyr (1965: 464) for borderline cases.[76]

In fact, if we stay within the mentioned framework, steering clear of "global" etymology (Bader 1973: 29) and virtually adaptationist views[77] – ingenious as the resulting etymologies may be – it clearly follows that other ancient Indo-European languages likewise do not yield a considerably weightier shared particle inventory.

From GREEK, for example, νῦν, νυ(ν) (above); the μά, μέν, μήν group; τε; κε(ν); ναί (νή); and originally (demonstrative and indefinite) pronominal forms; ἄρα possibly with partial Baltic match; ἄν, with likely matches in Goth. *an … ?* and Lat. *an*; perhaps αὖ with different-grade Ind. *u*, *ū* and a building block of Italic *aut(em)* (Lat.; Osc. *auti*; Umbr. *ote*). But οὖν, καί,

74. Note, however, *-num* in *etiam num/nunc* 'even now'; Hand (III 316) claims that MS tradition at times exhibits *num* for *nunc*. See Hahn (1938) on Hitt. *kinun* as interrogative particle "without temporal implications".
75. It is all too tempting, in view of the Latin pair *aut – autem*, to associate these with OIr. leniting *nō* (*no*, *nu*) 'or', despite the phonological incongruity.
76. Cf. later Skt. *nu* in interrogations and Hitt. *nu* introducing the first part of a disjunctive question.
77. Such views as wisely cautioned against in the context of particles by Dunkel (1992), who all the same does not adhere to the principle of functional identity.

γε with γα, γάρ, affirmative ἦ and the large δέ, δή, ... family, and more, are without accurately established matches.

In HITTITE – again provided no merciless truncation or association with otherwise employed stems takes place – only a small fraction of its numerous sentential particles has safe Indo-European cognates. This applies to the sentence-introductory conjunctive particles[78] (among which the most prominent Indo-European ones are *nu-* [above] and *ta-* 'and; then' with its exact matches in Continental Celtic) as well as to the series of second-place connective and modal particles (with, notably, *-k(k)u*, *-an*, *-ma 'autem'* with *man* [< *ma-an* ?], and also *-kan* and *-(y)a* 'and; also'[79]), in a language which – unlike Latin – needs particles to step in for the nonexistent flexional category of verbal mood (W. P. Lehmann 1993: 229).

INDIC sentential particles have been the subject of much detailed research, beginning with the excellent account in Speijer's (1886) classic *Sanskrit Syntax*,[80] lately also in respect of their combinability.[81] The wealth in particular of Vedic particle material, connective, emphasizing, and of other types, came by in-depth classification and description already in ancient sources albeit from a time when the sense of many a particle had already been obscured.[82] Still, here we are able to come up with a longer, yet not strikingly long list of matched particles: *ca* 'and', *u* with *ū* 'and; even', *ápi* 'also; and; even', *cit/d* 'even', *hí* 'for; indeed'; *kám* with *kam* 'indeed', *gha* with *ghā* and *ha* 'at least; verily', *nú*, *nū́* 'at present; now then; certainly';

78. On (divergent) accounts of the placement, in Hittite, of each series of particles, see Bader (1986, 1987, 2000: 20), Dunkel (1992: 165–166), W. P. Lehmann (1993: 228). We pass over the thorny issue of the (primary or additional) local/aspectual value of a certain set of Hittite sentential particles.

79. These two also, *pace* Dunkel (1982/83, 1990), of shaky etymology: see Tischler (1983–), Puhvel (1984–) s.vv.

80. In Sections 394–399, 418, 421–431 (= pp. 310–315, 327–328, 329–336); later, excluding straightforward connectors, in his *Vedische und Sanskrit-Syntax* (1896: 69–74). Unfortunately, nothing in the study entitled "Pragmatics and Classical Sanskrit" (Van de Walle 1993).

81. Notably the insightful study by Kozianka (2000); cf. Hock (2000, esp. at 186–189 on "linkage strings" in ancient Indo-European languages) and on initial strings Klein (1991: 123–125, 141–142), Hock (1992: 46–50).

82. 38 % of the particles analyzed in the oldest grammatical treatise (Prasad 1975: 8, cf. 9, 393–404; Hartman 1966: 7–8).

nūnám as expressing uncertainty ‘probably; certainly’; affirming *ít/d*, perhaps *sma/ā* ‘precisely; verily’.

We would expect CELTIC to be of interest in matters of Indo-European Latin particles, in view of its special relationship – whatever its nature – to Italic, but not in the stages in which the different branches of Celtic had already developed an artistic diction, given the great variety of discourse strategies and tools at hand in the area of information structure (cleft sentences, other split structures, specially designated pronominal forms [absolute pronouns, “augentia”], and more). And indeed it is striking how vanishingly small the Indo-European genuinely matched particle material is in the Insular Celtic languages. Not only is it nonexistent for the focus markers and (asseverative, dubitative) modality markers; the latter are either of obscure origin (e.g. OIr. *ám*, *ámin*, *am(m)(e)in* ‘verily’) or adverbial prepositional phrases (e.g. *in demin, co de(i)min*, literally ‘in truth; surely’).[83] Likewise, all of the most current connectives and discourse markers (Ir. *dano* ‘then’, *didiu* ‘(well) then’ < prepositional phrase ‘from this’, *immurgu* ‘well; then; moreover’, W. *(h)a(c)* ‘and; also’, etc.) have no accurate counterparts, and where parallelism is suggested (*dano*, which glosses *igitur* and *tamen*, being formed like Lat. *denuo*, both displaying the shift ‘then; again’ > adversative connector), it is certainly an independent development – all, except vestiges of connective *_to_ in Insular Celtic (Hamp 1989: 108), and except the ubiquitous *_nu_ (see above; also in the Old Irish [adversative and explicative] *noch*) and *$k^{u̯}e$ in Continental, British, and Old Irish composite forms and in the Archaic Irish infixed *-ch-* (which was soon to be replaced by other, coordinating and subordinating, copulative tools) (Binchy 1960; Watkins 1963: 8–12; cf. Ní Chatháin 1997). Luckily, Continental Celtic finds keep dropping into our lap from time to time a genuine Indo-European particle: in the classes of cohesion and discourse organizers – in part attested up to now exclusively with constituents – besides the connector *-c* (Gaul.), *-cue* (Celtiber.), *pe* (Lep.), and included in *etic* and *co/uetic* ‘likewise; and’ (Gaul., see in particular Eska 1991/92), we get *eti* ‘likewise’ itself (Gaul., matched by *item* or *idem* [?] in Latin versions), *uta* ‘and also’ (Celtiber.; De Bernardo Stempel 1997: 728–729), *to*

83. OIr. *bés(s)* ‘perhaps’ is a subordinated subjunctive form of the *verbum existentiae*, thus partly similar to, though unrelated to, Lat. *fortassis* etc.

'and' (Celtiber. Ködderitzsch 1985, Eska 1990: 106–107; Gaul. Hamp 1989: cognate of Hitt. *ta-*) and in all likelihood *toni* (possibly with *tonid*, *tanit*) 'and then; moreover' (Gaul., cognate of Lat. *tum* etc.), *-ue* 'or' (Celtiber.), and then again *nu* (Gaul.). One focusing particle might emerge, according to Watkins's (1999: 10–11) interpretation, with *aucu* of *soz aucu* (Celtiber.) 'this also' (cf. the Germanic set of Ger. *auch* etc.) or 'this in particular'[?].[84]

Older Indo-Europeanist accounts delineating a situation of principally connectors and discourse markers as well as modalizers and localizers in the oldest dialects (Anatolian) to (aspectual and other) preverbs and adpositions in younger idioms reflect a considerable lack of language-specific functionalism. There do exist differences in the different branches as to the relative weight of morphemes fulfilling the one or the other role, and corresponding morphemes may be found to impart a similar denotation or connotation while being of different syntactic status,[85] but it is a fact that ancient Indo-European languages exhibit representatives of all classes of sentential modifiers. Generally, whereas the different branches all have connective particles and discourse particles with at least a few shared ones, they do vary with respect to focus marking, which is carried out in varying degrees by differently constituted means (verbal morphology, syntactic structures, and particles); particles of this function tend to develop individually in each language and language stage. The branches are also different as to modality marking, depending on the other resources at hand in each case: whereas in Hittite, for example, with no flexional verbal mood, particles are the only means of expressing modalities, in Latin they just add shadings and refinements of modality not

84. Traditionally taken as containing the cognate of Gk. αὖ etc. with *-cu*[*e*] 'and' (Eska 1989: 51–52, 62; Hamp 1990) which yields a composite connective, isolated in Celtic but corresponding to Gk. αὖ-τε, Goth. *u-h*, or with another additive element (Meid 1994: 20). Villar's interpretation of *aucu* (1993: 467–468) as referring to the object, although paralleled by Latin inscriptional *hoc seignum/monumentum*, is wanting in proper etymological linking.

85. W. P. Lehmann convincingly concludes (1997: 452) that "we may consider their [the particles'] uses in the dialects as developments from the period when they served as independent elements that were used to modify the meanings of nouns, verbs, or entire clauses". A good example is intensive **pro* with its function as a regular intensive-perfective preverb in Celtic and the numerous syntactically divergent relics of Lat. *prō* and *prŏ* (Hamp 1997).

expressible by verbal mood and are also capable of discharging illocutionary force in modifying the prototypical value of a sentence type (and its verb form). Understandably, all these are key factors that determine the volume of the common vocabulary.

3.2 Evolutionary paths of Latin-born particles

The very limited inventory of Latin "inherited" or fully matched particles is augmented, up to becoming the massive corpus we know in Classical Latin (Section 2), by internal circumstances of divers character.

3.2.1 Initially attested as particles

Entities start off at some stage of the language as functioning particles; this group is made up primarily of connectives and focus markers.

(i) Particles are constructed from Indo-European materials, and come into existence in Latin (without having fully matching particles in other Indo-European languages). These either use as one of their building blocks an Indo-European (mainly pronominal) stem or a segment of a corresponding stem:[86]

at (XII Tables →)
aut (XII Tables →)
-dum
LL coordinating *donec* (subordinating, XII Tables →), *dunc* (see Note 109)
[?] *demum/us* (Liv.Andr. →)
ecce (Enn., Plaut. →)
[?] *inde* (Enn., Plaut. →) (see above, Section 2.1.1, Endnote (c))
sed (Plaut. →)
and *quidem* (Naev. →), *autem* (Liv.Andr. →), *tamen* (Liv.Andr. →), *tandem* (Enn., Plaut. →)

86. Including segments of corresponding particles, as may be the case of *-dum* and *demum* (∼ Gk. δέ, δή), rather than associating these with the preposition *de* – *pace* Bader (1973: 36–39), Gutiérrez Galindo (1989), al. The etymological identifications one is liable to find in this category are in part dubious; only the assured ones are listed here.

(ii) Others combine more than one such component into a new, specifically Latin, amalgam:

atque (Liv.Andr. →)
nempe (Plaut. →)
nemut (Naev.)
quippe (Enn., Plaut. →)
possibly also *tandem* ('*in the same way'; 'at the end'), *autem* belong here.

(iii) The particles in (i) and (ii) have to be kept apart from particles univerbated from components or with juxtaposed components that can each be accounted for in Latin itself, such as *etiam* 'now also', *at-quī* (Plaut. →, LL *at-quin*) 'but how; however', even though the resulting sense is not always that of the sum of components.
(iv) Again of a different structure are particles that come into being as prepositional phrases: *profecto* ('for a fact, indeed' Plaut. →) (Section 2.1.2, Endnote (m)).
(v) Etymologically fully obscure particles are likewise found in the classes of cohesion and focus markers:

ergo (Enn., Plaut. →)
igitur (XII Tables, Liv.Andr. →)
saltem (Plaut. → Apul.)

At the present state of our knowledge, all items belonging to the five groups (i)–(v) must be considered original Latin entities that started off at some stage of historical Latin as functioning particles. Once again, the borderlines between the above groups may change according to one's stance in matters of the "formal Scylla" and the "semantic Charybdis".[87]

3.2.2 Delexicalized

A word or a group of words, of various morphological or syntactic shapes, turns into a functioning particle by a process of delexicalization. Delexicalization, or functionalization, is the main source for the Latin tools of sentential modification that are without direct genealogical ties to Indo-European

87. To borrow Untermann's (2002: 383) bon mot.

particles and the main growth factor of their inventory. The majority of particles created in this manner are already there at the dawn of Latin literature, at any rate as it was handed down to us.[88]

Function words become created out of the following.

3.2.2.1 Adverbs

(i) temporal

tum > (a), (b) 'then'; *postea* > (b) 'then'; *hodie* > (c) 'now then' [?] (cf. Section 1.2.3, Table 5 Endnote (b) in Section 2.2.1, and Section 3.2.2.5)

(ii) other

uero > (c), (a)
I. *uero* (= *uere*) 'truly; truthfully': 'solemnly and truthfully' (*serio ac uero* Plaut. *Amph.* 964)
II. Plaut. →: 'indeed': 'Is it so indeed? :: Yes, by God, so indeed' (*Itane uero?* :: *Ita hercle uero* Plaut. *Curc.* 725)
III. Ter. →: 'but; however'

rursus > (a)
I. 'backwards; again': 'They are going backwards and forwards' (*rursus ac prorsus meant* Varro *Men.* 28); 'fearing that a similar mishap might befall again' (*timentes rursus aliquid ne simile accidat* Phaedr. 4,18(19),18)
II. Cic. →: 'on the other hand': 'he neither … adopted art nor on the other hand rejected it altogether' (*neque … amplecteretur artem …, neque rursus eam totam … repudiaret* Cic. *de orat.* 1,110); cf. *sed rursus*, *rursus autem*; Tac. →: 'but'[89]

certe > (c)
I. *certe* (= *certo*) 'certainly': … ? :: certe/certo.
II. Ter., Cic. →: 'at any rate'; 'at least': 'Varus maintained that to date he held the authority; at any rate he held the symbols of power' (*Varus imperium se hodie habere dicebat. fasces certe habebat* Cic. *Lig.* 22); 'if not … in my own misfortune, then surely in theirs' (*si non meo casu …, at illorum certe* Quint. *inst.* 6, praef.4); 'But since you cannot be my wife, you shall at least … be my tree' (*at quoniam coniunx mea non potes esse, arbor eris certe … mea* Ov. *met.* 1,557–558)

88. As a result, the attestation in many a case leaves one wondering whether the direction most readily assumed from the lexical to the grammatical does not deter us from considering a given word as initially a particle, concomitant or even prior to its use as a fully lexical word. This may apply not only to words such as *nunc* whose cognates throughout are function words (above, Section 3.1), but also to other words cited in this section.

89. Never the replacive ('sondern') 'but'.

pro(r)sum, *pro(r)sus* > (c)
I. ‘forward; straight to’: cf. *rursus* I; ‘... as if you are going straight to your ship’ (... *quasi eas prorsum in nauem* Plaut. *Persa* 677)
II. Plaut.[?], Cic. →: ‘quite; absolutely’: ‘I am totally ruined’ (*prosus perii* Plaut. *Aul.* 397); ‘He ventured to say that ... he did not want to serve in the army at all’ (*ausus est dicere se prorsus ... nolle militare* Liv. 29,1,7)

magis > (a)
I. ‘more’
II. ‘rather; but’ (see Section 4.3 (iii))

3.2.2.2 Substantival case forms and prepositional phrases

modo > (d)
I. ‘just now; immediately’
II. Enn., Plaut. →: ‘only; just; at least’[90]

fors > (c)
I. ‘chance’
II. Verg., Hor. →: ‘perhaps’

3.2.2.3 Adjectival case forms

ceterum > (a), (b)
I. ‘as to the rest’ (anaphoric)
II. Plaut., Ter., Cic. (isolated), Sall. →: ‘but; however’

3.2.2.4 Predications

(i) verbs[91]

1st sg. *quaeso*, *amabo* et sim. > (c)
1st pl. *quaesumus* > (c)
3rd sg. *uidelicet*, *scilicet* > (c), (a)
I. Plaut., Cic., Gell., ...: ‘it is evident that’ + AcI

90. Risselada (1994: 319–333); cf. Paul. Fest. 140M: “*modo* ... significat et tempus ... et ponitur pro ‘tantum’ ut ‘tace modo’ ”; Don. Ter. *Phorm.* 420: “ ‘sine modo’ ... minantis sunt uerba”; et al. Demotivation observable in Cic. *div.* 2,93: *quodsi ... caelum **modo** hoc, **modo** illo modo temperatur* (‘But if the heaven is affected **now** in this way **now** in another way’).

91. Most 2nd sg. Imperative forms such as *age*, *tene*, *mane*, *abi*, *em* (< *eme*) do lose their lexical value, becoming however not modal, but interjection-like (“interjektionalisiert” Hofmann [1936] 1951: 36–39) particles, e.g. *abi* ‘Oh no; Get out of here; Go ahead; OK’.

II. Plaut. →: 'evidently; of course'
III. Cic. → (*uidelicet*), SL (*scilicet*): 'namely'

(ii) copulaic predications

nimirum *'unless [there is] a miracle' > (c)
Ter.[92] →: 'no doubt; of course'
uerum '[this is] true' (attested) > (a)
Plaut. →: 'but'
forsan (Ter., Poetry); *forsit* (hapax, Hor.); *forsitan* (Cic. →); *fors fuat (an)* (EL and LL); *fortasse*, *fortassis* of unclear structure '(it) may be that' > 'perhaps' (and see below, Section 4.4.9)

(iii) subordinate predications

sis > (c)
I. Plaut.: 'if you wish'
II. Plaut. →: 'please'
dumtaxat 'at most', originally 'as far as he [the magistrate?] estimates', first keeps to technical-juridical and commercial contexts, e.g. 'purchase food a mina's worth' (*opsonari dumtaxat mina* Plaut. *Truc*. 445), and becomes a limiting particle (d) 'only; at least' that freely relates to any sentence constituent in later and Late Latin prose (cf. Section 4.4.7).

(iv) predications involving indefinite, relative, or interrogative clauses

Whereas for *quoque* 'also' (d) one can only surmise its origin (*'and by this' or *'and anywhere' (above, Note 73), in the case of *utique*, strongly asseverative 'by all means; necessarily; at any rate' (c) (Varro, Cic. →) as well as mitigating 'perhaps' (c), also 'precisely; especially; at least' (d) in Silver Latin and Late Latin, the way to functionalization is attested, if sparsely: inscriptional, once (*CIL* I^2 593 [a. 45].14–15),[93] *-que* joining relative-interrogative *uti* to a preceding relative, and with a demonstrative correlative: *eademque omnia quae uteique intabulas rettulerit, ịta intabulam in album referundam* [*curato*] '… and also all that [he will have entered] **and** in which way that he will have entered it in the files, in that way one must see to it that it will be entered in the files on the board': 'and in which way' > 'in any way' > 'at any rate'.

3.2.2.5 Levels of functionalization. A good deal of these last-mentioned particles (Sections 3.2.2.1–3.2.2.4) can be shown to stand, in Classical and also in Early Latin, on disparate points of the continuum of functionalization.

92. Hapax in a contested Plautine verse (*Aul*. 393).
93. [*atque*] *uteique* in *CIL* I^2 585.71, cited in this connection (Hofmann & Szantyr 1965: 492), does not yield to a comparable analysis.

Table 7. Amabo : sis

	Material erosion	Demotivation	Sharing verbal syntax	Illocution-modifying	Free position
amabo	–	+	–	+	+
sis	+	–	(+)	–	(–)

The material erosion visible in *sis* transcends the limits of particle usage: *sis* + infin. attested, on the other hand *si uis* as '(if you) please'; an occasional semantic link with the verb of loving is maintained by *amabo* (in puns), but only 3 (out of 103) occurrences of *amabo* in the meaning 'I will (make) love', all three in distinct environments (negated; coordinated; + object);[94] *sis* limited to imperative sentences, *amabo* occurring in interrogative and declarative sentences as well; *sis* mostly postposed, *amabo* parenthetical, pre- and postposed.

In some cases delexicalization is altogether dubious: *hodie* is felt to convey insistence and intensification of assertive or directive power, but this pathos-bearing value may well be only a side-effect implied in the purely temporal accompaniment ('immediately, not later') of a directive verb. Also, most of the favored discourse organizers which have circumscribable roles (and did receive illuminating comments in ancient lexicography, see Section 4.4.6) appear to have lost none of their semantics while being used repetitiously. But forms much advanced in grammaticalization also exhibit different degrees of its various facets (material erosion, morphological demotivation, semantic bleaching,[95] etc.). Table 7 illustrates these differences by the constrasting of two comparable particles, *amabo* and *sis*, presumably identical in conveying 'please' but clearly distinct as to the stage of their functionalization (Rosén 2000: 96–97; cf. Bolkestein 1977: 63).

94. In grammatical tradition *amabo* is even treated as a separate, deficient verb: "*amabo* a prima persona non declinatur, quia uelut blandientis est significatio" (Cledonius, *Gramm.* V 59.25–26; cf. Pompeius, *Gramm.* V 231.35–37 "defectiua sunt et perdunt uires", Consentius, *Gramm.* V 382.12–14 "defectus est").

95. Not to be confused with semantic shifting during the life span of individual particles or types of particles; such shifts, best observable from Terence and Cicero onwards, then in the Silver Latinity and prominent in all strains of Late Latin, can be gleaned from the Tables in Sections 2 and 4.

The downfall of an original, motivated form, while its functionalized pendant vigorously lives on, is probably recoverable with many more words: *sane* which as modalizer is attested from Early well into Late Latin, is recorded as a manner adverb essentially only until the end of the first century BCE (Risselada 1998a: 242), although as an adjective qualifier it is attested into the second century CE.

3.3 The cultural impact

3.3.1 Over time

Sentential modification and cohesion, just like innovation in other functional fields, developed in part at times of literary flourish, i.e. in the Scipionic (mid second century) and Ciceronian circles. The rise and diffusion of some of the most common discourse markers such as *autem*[96] came about in order to meet the new requirements of theoretical and argumentative reasoning, as was the case with the unfolding periodic style and the many innovations in the nominal and verbal domains. Semantic shifts of particles are observable since or around Cicero's time: *certe* being used for 'at least', *uero* as an adversative (already in Terentius), and more. But grammaticalization had by then been operating at full gear, consequently a case such as *utique* becoming 'at any rate; at least' not before the second half of the first century BCE (above, Section 3.2.2.4 (iv)) is rare. Genuine neologisms in the fields under discussion are scarce in these times, certainly in the area of cohesion: here the impact of spontaneous creativity is almost imperceptible.

3.3.2 Under Greek pressure

On the other hand, creativity triggered by contact with Greek is important in this domain, too. It comes as no surprise, given the way Roman literary genres came into being, that Early Latin as well as Classical Latin translations exhibit a colorful picture of the particle scene. It stands to reason that with

96. *ThLL* s.v. *autem*, col. 1576.55–56: "satis rara in prisca latinitate frequentissime usurpatur inde a Cic., qui usum particulae in periodis conformandis excoluit."

these unmotivated words the creative forces of calque and loan-translation are not operative, but then also in the corpus of Greek foreign words virtually no particles can be found.[97] However, Latin comes up with original solutions to translational problems with the aid of particles: a particle would step in where anisomorphism between Greek and Latin or weakness of a form in the target language hindered a literal translation: *enim* 'for' (Cic. *Tim.* 17) for the present participle κατανοῶν 'seeing that' (Plat., *Tim.* 33a); or as an equivalent to a more complex structure: *profecto* 'surely' (Cic. *Tim.* 6) for δῆλον ὡς) (Plat., *Tim.* 29a), *itaque* 'since that is the case' (Cic. *div.* 1,60) for οἶσθ' ὅτι (Plat., *Rep.* 571c). In general, the instability in the choice of translational particle equivalents (above, Section 1.3) tallies with the translators' vacillation in coinage in other domains (mainly of terminological abstracts) and testifies to the efforts of Roman men-of-letters to cope with the need to faithfully convey Greek cohesion, modality, and message structuration.

4. Internal history, varieties

4.1 Timelines

Timelines of individual particles can be easily sketched from the lists in Section 2. For some tokens these lines show marked changes in preferred shape, e.g. *demus* (of *demum*/*demus*) falling out of use already in Early Latin; both *tum* and *tunc* in Archaic, Early, and Classical Latin, converging in Late and Christian Latin towards *tunc*,[98] which alone is evidenced in the Vulgate and in Romance and is usually considered the less "urbane" form of the two. But for certain functions these two shapes are intriguingly distributed: as transition markers (b) their distribution follows the chronological and register preferences mentioned; as apodotic connector (a) the shape *tum* prevails;[99]

97. Contrary to Greek interjections, which are often entwined in their original shape in Latin familiar diction; this demonstrates the different emotional-expressive level on which these two word categories stand. Cf. Adams (2003: 22) on Greek interjections in the freedmen's speech in the *Cena Trimalchionis*.
98. Classicizing authors, such as Lactantius, excepted.
99. In the rare Classical instances in which *tunc* is a correlative of a *si* clause (*OLD* s.v., 5),

similar differentiations in the use of *atque*/*ac* (both falling out of use before Romance): here *atque* alone, which appears to be the form of less familiar diction – naturally metric and rhythmic considerations are also at play – may function apodotically.

It will be noted that the timelines adduced below by way of exemplification sharply diverge and may be tied into meaningful bunches only with generous approximation.

4.1.1 Et

As a sentential connector *et* is first safely attested in a “lex dicta” (Luci Spoleti *CIL* I^2 366, ca. 241 BCE) and in one instance of Livius Andronicus, and then Naev., Enn. →; there are dubious earlier occurrences as constituent coordinator (in *The Twelve Tables*). *Et* lives throughout Latin – eventually ousting *-que* and *atque* – into Romance (except Modern Rumanian).

4.1.2 Autem

First assured in Ennius, dubious in two Archaic fragments, reaches its maturity and peak in Cicero (above, Section 3.3.1), lives well through Late Latin, but leaves no trace in Romance.

4.1.3 Atque, ac

Liv.Andr. →; conspicuously present in Plautus, strong as coordinator and sentence connector in Republican Latin (see on its genre and register limitations below, Section 4.4.3), gradual demise in Imperial Latin, where it often collocates with *uero*, *similiter*, *deinde*, other; its only Romance trace is It. *a* (< *ac*) ‘and’, in petrified usage since the thirteenth century.

4.1.4 Immo

Life span from Early Latin into Late Latin; survival in Romance only in Sardinian (Section 4.2.5) as a responsive adverb ‘rather’ (Ger. *doch*, Fr. *si*); as

it precedes, in full possession of its deictic force, that clause.

corrective connector strong in dialogical texts; in Late Latin and sporadically earlier in (eyewitness) narrative (Petronius) it marks continuation, often in crescendo.

4.1.5 Profecto

Life span from Early to Late Latin; it is a typically internal Latin formation with links neither to other ancient Indo-European nor to Italic forms; on its functions see Sections 1.1.4 and 1.2.2 above.

4.1.6 Dumtaxat, utique

See Section 3.2.2.4, (iii) and (iv).

4.2 Inventories

More information about the composition and fate of the corpus of Latin particles once the so-called Classical Latinity had crystallized into the form it was by and large to keep for a considerable period can be gained from a comparison of successive synchronic inventories of particles. As with other facets of Latin grammar and lexicon, one should muster all possible caution and restraint from far-reaching conclusions about diachrony: the uneven constitution of attested Latin in all its kinds of sources, over and above their fragmentary state in Archaic and Early Latin, allows of positing only most approximate turning points.

4.2.1 Archaic Latin: XII Tables, Livius Andronicus

XII Tables:

at; *ast*; *aut*; *igitur*; *-que*; *-ue*; *post*; *deinde*. No *et* as sentence connector (only as coordinator of substantives and adjectives and that possibly part of the excerptor's wording).

Livius Andronicus:

Odusia: *-que* (δέ, ἀλλά); (*ne*)*que tamen* (ἀλλά); *tamen enim* (ἀλλά, v.l. of preceding); *atque* (ἀλλά); *at* (δέ); *igitur demum* (καὶ τότε); *tumque* (δέ); *demus* (ποτε) [?]; *namque* (γάρ); *nam* (οὕνεκ' ἄρα); *quoque* (καί? δή?); *partim* (μέν … δέ …); the *scenica* add: *et*; *set*; *tum autem*; *tum* (as superordinator); *an*

4.2.2 Early Latin: Ennius, Cato, Plautus, Terence

Ennius:

(a) *ac*; *et*; *-que*; *neque*, *nec*; *aut*; *siue*, *seu*; *at*; *ast*; *sed*; (*non* . . .) *sed magis*; *autem*; *tamen*; *nam*; *namque*; *ergo*; *igitur*

(b) *interea*; *postea*; *post*; *inde*; *deinde*; *exin/m*; *tandem*; *repente*; *nunc*[100]

(c) *certe*;[101] *an*

(d) *quoque*; *quidem*; *modo*; *ecce*

Table 8. Cato

	De agri cultura	hist. and rhet. frg.
(a)		
ac	–	+
at	1	2
atque	2	+
aut	+	+
enim	–	1
ergo	–	1
et	+	+
igitur	–	2
nam	+	+
nec/neque	+	+
nihilominus	1	–
-que	+	+
sed	+	+
siue	+	+
tamen	+	+
uel/-ue	+/1	–
uerum	+	2
uerumuero	–	1
(b)		
autem	1	1
deinde	+	+
denique	1	1

100. In nineteen of its twenty occurrences, *nunc* figures as temporal adverb; *ann*. 292–293 exhibits it as a discourse marker: *nunc hostes* . . . *consil**uere*** (‘Now, the enemy . . . **took** counsel’).

101. Vs. the adverb *incerte* (*errat*) at *scen*. 241.

Table 8 (continued). Cato

	De agri cultura	hist. and rhet. frg.
interea	–	+
ita	+	+
itaque	–	+
item	+	+
nunc	+	+
postea	+	+
praeterea	+	+
tum	+	+
(c)		
an	–	1
forte	–	1
iam	+	+
prorsum	–	1
prorsus	–	1
sane	–	1
sis/sultis	–	1/1
tandem	–	2
uero	–	1
utique	–	1
(d)		
admodum	1	–
adeo	+	1
dumtaxat	+	–
etiam	–	1
modo	–	1
quidem	–	+
quoque	1	+
solum	1	–
uel (‘even’?)	2	–

Plautus and Terentius are usually lumped together as equal representatives of second-century Early Latin. But although Plautus’s language too is an artistically elaborated language, this they are not – quite apart from their divergent expressive preferences: Terence heralds Ciceronian diction and Caesar’s purity of style (Goldberg 1986: 40–60, 199–202; Calboli 1993, esp. at 77–78, 80–83); this dividing line between the two Comic authors is reflected also in

their use of particles: several particles or combinations of particles are not attested as function words before Terence and come into full use with Cicero: *nedum* 'let alone' (d), *nimirum* 'evidently' (c); with others a change of meaning occurs in Terentius's works: *uero* as adversative connector, *porro* as frequent discourse organizer (b) 'then; also' (McGlynn, *Lexicon Terentianum*, s.v., III; cf. Don. *Eun*. 167 "*porro* … 'deinde' uel 'postea' "); *porro* then becomes widely put to use by Lucretius also with adversative coloring (Calboli Montefusco 1972); other terms show a more advanced stage of functionalization from Terence onwards: *amabo* (which in Plautus still shows feeble links with *amare*) in Terentius's works, on top of its being limited to women's speech, never governs an object and subsists only as a directive particle; *ceterum*, definitely a latecomer as transition marker, perhaps signifies 'but' in isolated Terentian instances; in Early Latin still largely looking back, literally 'as to the rest; otherwise' (Plautus and Terentius have also the pl. *cetera*), *ceterum* gains ground as an adversative connector (even of the replacive 'sondern' type) in the first century BCE, thanks to Sallust's predilection for it, and as a fairly common cohesion marker in Silver and Late Latin prose.

4.2.3 Literary Classical Latin

As a supplement to the data of Classical and later Latin (essentially up to the fourth century), for which consult Section 2, we present in Table 9 the occurrence of the main bulk of particles (i.e., words only inasmuch as they function in classes (a) to (d)) in a series of literary Republican and post-Augustan corpora; this listing does not provide information about the relative frequency of individual items (hapax and nearly hapax legomena are marked *h*; a dagger (†) indicates unstable attestation). A glance at this table alone should disprove the often-voiced opinion about the scarcity of particles in Latin.

Table 9. Literary Classical Latin: a selection

	Plaut.	Ter.	Cic. philos.	Cic. rhet.	Cic. Speeches	Cic. Letters	Caes.	Catull.	Sall.	Hor.	Verg.	Plin. epist.	Plin. Pan.	Quint.	Petr.
abhinc	+	–	h	–	+	h	–	–	–	h	–	–	–	–	–
abinde	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
ac, atque	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
adeo	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–
adhuc	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+
admodum	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	h	–	–	–	h	+	–
age/agite	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
amabo	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
an	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
ast	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	h
at	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
atqui(n)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	h	–	–	+	h
aut	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
autem	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
certe	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+
ceterum	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	+
contra	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+
credo	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	2	h	+	+	+	2	–	+
dein(de)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
demum	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	h	+	+	+	+	–
denique	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	2
denuo	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
-dum	+	+	–	–	h	h	–	–	–	–	–	h	–	–	–
dumtaxat	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	h	+	–
ecce	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	h	+	+	+	–	h	+
enim	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

Table 9 (continued). Literary Classical Latin: a selection

	Plaut.	Ter.	Cic. philos.	Cic. rhet.	Cic. Speeches	Cic. Letters	Caes.	Catull.	Sall.	Hor.	Verg.	Plin. epist.	Plin. Pan.	Quint.	Petr.
eo	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+
equidem	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	h	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
ergo	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
et	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
etiam	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
exinde	+	h	h	h	–	h	–	–	–	–	+	–	h	–	–
fors	h†	+†	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	h	+	–	–	–	–
forsan	–	2†	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	h	+	–	–	+	–
forsit(an)	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	2	h	+	2	–	+	+
fortasse	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	h	–	+	h	+	+	+	–
fortassis	+†	–	–	+	2	2	–	–	–	2	–	h	–	–	–
fortassean	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
forte (‘maybe’)	–	–	h	–	–	–	–	–	–	h	h	–	–	+	–
hic	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
hinc	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	h	+	+	+	+	+	+
hodie	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	h	–	+	+	–	–	–	+
iam	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
idcirco	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	h
ideo	+	h	+	+	+	+	+	h	–	–	+	+	+	+	+
igitur	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
immo	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	h	+	h	+	+	+	+	+
imprimis	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	h	+	+	–	+	–
inde	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
interea	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	h
interim	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+
istinc	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	h	–	2	h†	–	–	–	–

Table 9 (continued). Literary Classical Latin: a selection

	Plaut.	Ter.	Cic. philos.	Cic. rhet.	Cic. Speeches	Cic. Letters	Caes.	Catull.	Sall.	Hor.	Verg.	Plin. epist.	Plin. Pan.	Quint.	Petr.
ita	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
itaque	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	h	h	+	+	+	+
item	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	h
iterum	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–
magis[102]	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	–	–	–	(+)	(+)	–	(+)	–	–	(+)	–
maxime	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–
modo	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
nam	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
namque	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
ne	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
nec/neque	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
nedum	–	h	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	h	–	–	–	+	–
nempe	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	h	+	+	+	+
nemut	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
ne … quidem	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
nihilominus	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–
nimirum	h†	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+
non solum															
… sed etiam	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
nunc	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
obsecro	+	+	+	h	2	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
olim	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	h	+	–	+	+	+	+
oppido	+	+	h	h	–	h	+	h	–	–	–	–	–	h	–
per se	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	h	+	h
plane	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	h	–	–	+	h	+	+
porro	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	h

Table 9 (continued). Literary Classical Latin: a selection

	Plaut.	Ter.	Cic. philos.	Cic. rhet.	Cic. Speeches	Cic. Letters	Caes.	Catull.	Sall.	Hor.	Verg.	Plin. epist.	Plin. Pan.	Quint.	Petr.
postea	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	posthac2	+	+	+	+
potissimum	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–
praecipue	h	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
praesertim	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	h	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
praeterea	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
primum (‘principally’)	+	–	+	h	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	h	+	–
profecto	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	h	h	–	–	+	–
proin	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	h	–	–	–	–
proinde	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	2	+	2	+	h
propterea	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	h	h	h	–
prorsus/-um	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	-us h	–	-us h	–	–	–
quaeso	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	h	+	–	–	h	+
quare	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
-que	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
quidem	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	h	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
quin	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	h
quippe	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	2
quoque	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
rogo	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
rursum	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	h
rursus	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
saltem	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	h	–	h	+	+	+	+	+
sane	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+
scilicet	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	h	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
sed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

Table 9 (continued). Literary Classical Latin: a selection

	Plaut.	Ter.	Cic. philos.	Cic. rhet.	Cic. Speeches	Cic. Letters	Caes.	Catull.	Sall.	Hor.	Verg.	Plin. epist.	Plin. Pan.	Quint.	Petr.
seu, siue	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
sic	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
si placet	h	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
sis/sultis	+	+	sis h	+	sis h	h	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
sodes	+	h	–	h	–	h	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
solum	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	h	+	+	+	+
tamen	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
tandem	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
tantum	–	(+)	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
tum	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
tunc	+†	+†	+	+	+	+	+	h	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
uel/-ue	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
uel ('even')	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
uero	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
uerum	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
uidelicet	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	h	+	+
utique	–	–	2	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	+

102. Instances of transition; see Section 4.3 (iii).

4.2.4 Late Latin

As representatives of the two poles between which Late Latin is moving, the data of Ammianus Marcellinus (literary Late Latin) and the *Itinerarium Egeriae* (popular Late Latin)[103] are given in the two middle columns of Table 10 below.

4.2.5 Romance

In order to arrive at a more educated opinion about the path Latin cohesion and sentential modification particles took, a survey of the Latin particle stock in Romance is useful (Table 10; unclarified status as function word is marked by brackets; items borrowed by way of scholarly usage are asterisked, vestigial ones that are extant as parts of function words, in parentheses).

Table 10. Late Latin and Romance: a selection

	Amm.	Itiner. Eger.	Romance
abhinc	h	–	[+]
abinde	–	–	[+]
ac, atque	+	+	(+)
adeo	+	–	–
adhuc	+	+	[+]
admodum	+	–	–
age/agite	–	–	–
amabo	–	–	–
an	+	–	–
ast	–	–	–
at	+	+	–
atqui(n)	+	–	–
aut	+	+	+
autem	+	+	–
certe	+	+	+*
ceterum	–	–	–
contra	+	–	[+]
credo	–	–	+
de ea re	–	–	+

103. Obviously, dividing lines within Late Latin other than these could have been selected.

Table 10 (continued). Late Latin and Romance: a selection

	Amm.	Itiner. Eger.	Romance
dein(de)	+	+	[+]
demum	+	h	–
denique	+	h	+??
denuo	–	+	–
donec (coord.)/dunc	–	–	+
-dum	–	–	–
dumtaxat	–	–	–
ecce	+	+	+
enim	+	+	–
eo	+	+	–
equidem	–	–	–
*era	–	–	+?
ergo	+	+	+*
et	+	+	+
etiam	+	+	–
exinde	+	–	–
fors	–	–	(+)
forsan	–	–	–
forsit(an)	+	+	+
fortasse	+	–	–
fortassis	–	–	–
fortassean	–	–	–
forte ('maybe')	h	h	–
hic	+	+	–
hinc	+	+	–
hodie	–	+	[+]
iam	+	+	+
idcirco	h	–	–
ideo	+	+	–
id ipsum	–	–	+
igitur	+	–	–
immo	+	2	+
imprimis	h	–	–
inde	+	+	[+]
interea	+	h	+?
interim	+	h	–
istinc	–	–	–
ita	+	+	+
itaque	+	+	–
item	+	+	–
iterum	h	–	[+]

Table 10 (continued). Late Latin and Romance: a selection

	Amm.	Itiner. Eger.	Romance
magis	–	–	+
maxime	+	–	–
modo	+	+	(+)
nam	+	+	–
namque	+	–	–
ne	–	–	–
nec/neque	+	+	+
nedum	+	–	–
nempe	+	–	–
nemut	–	–	–
ne ... quidem	+	+	–
nihilominus	+	h	+
nimirum	+	–	–
non solum ... sed etiam	+	+	–
nunc	+	+	–
obsecro	–	–	–
olim	+	h	–
oppido	2†	–	–
per se	2	h	–
plane	+	–	–
porro	h	+	+
postea	+	+	+
potissimum	+	–	–
praecipue	+	–	–
praesertim	h	h	–
praeterea	h	+	–
primum (‘principally’)	–	–	+
profecto	+	–	–
proin	h	–	+
proinde	+	–	+
propterea	–	+	–
prorsus	+	+	–
quaeso	+	–	–
quare	–	h	+
-que	+	h†	–
quidem	+	+	–
quin	+	–	–
quippe	+	–	–
quoque	+	–	–
rogo	–	–	–
rursus	+	–	–

Table 10 (continued). Late Latin and Romance: a selection

	Amm.	Itiner. Eger.	Romance
saltem, -tim	+	–	–
sane	+	+	–
scilicet	+	–	–
sed	+	+	–
seu, siue	–	+	+
sic	+	+	+
si placet	–	–	+
sis/sultis	–	–	–
sodes	–	–	–
solum	+	+	+
tamen	+	+	+
tandem	+	–	+*
tantum	+	+	+
tum	+	–	–
tunc	+	+	+
uel/-ue	+	+	–
uel (‘even’)	+	h	+
uero	+	h	+
uerum	+	h	–
uidelicet	+	–	–
utique	–	–	–

The – startingly meager[104] – inherited particle stock in Romance is distributed as follows:

From Latin (a): *et* ‘and’; *neque* ‘and not’; *aut* ‘or’; *quare* ‘for’; also traces of *ac* ‘and’ (It. *a*, mainly in compound numerals); marginally *seu* ‘or’ (Rum. *sau*, limited as sentence connector), *tamen* (Sard.); in addition connectors (a) from Latin adverbs: *sic*[105] (Rum. *şi* ‘and’); *magis*; *de ea re* (Rum. *dare* ‘but’, OFr. ‘therefore’); Romance adverb from Latin connector (a): *immo* (Sard. *èmmo*).

It is noteworthy that none of the Latin adversative and conclusive connectors lived into Romance as they were, functionally (which entailed the end of the clitic phenomenon). The adverb *magis* turned into the adversative

104. Apart from Latinisms in learned language, such as Catal. *adhuc*, Fr. *ergo*.
105. Already in Late Latin a transition marker ‘and then’.

connector of the widest diffusion; two connectors lived on marginally, both in Sardinian: *tamen* as a connector 'however', *èmmo* (< Lat. *immo* 'rather') (repudiating, Fr. *si*, Ger. *doch*) 'yes'.

From Latin (b), mostly isolated: *deinde*; *abhinc* and *abinde* (OSard.); *interea*; *post*; *postea*; *proinde* ('therefore; however'); *tunc* (the Grisons dialect *tonca* 'so then'); *iterum* (OSard. *etro*); Late Latin *dunc* (= *donec*) 'well then' (see Section 4.3 (i) below).

From Latin (c): *forsit* 'perhaps' (It. with dialects); *certe*.[106]

From Latin (d): *ecce*; *id ipsum* (It. *desso*, adverbial at first); *uel* (OFr., Prov. 'at any rate'; Reichenau gloss: "*saltim*: uel");[107] *solum*, *tantum* (in Old Romance dialects), and other isolated words for 'only' containing < *modo* 'just'.

This again proves, just as the sparse Indo-European particle heritage itself showed, that with the category of sentence and constituent modifiers, tools tend to develop in languages individually and gradually, along with evolving needs. Also, the fact that in Early Latin the essential foundation is already present demonstrates once again that despite sparseness of earlier attestation, Early and even Archaic Latin represent a well advanced stage of the language.

4.3 Processes

An exhaustive account of the sentential modification and cohesion scene does not simply amount to life spans, to beginning and end, and to changing rates of frequency of its individual exponents; there exist fairly inclusive directions and tendencies of development. The specific Early to Classical Latin movements have been delineated in Sections 2 and 3 (cf. Rosén 1999: 177–186, 195–198). In the already consolidated Latinity of the late Republic and early Empire the following developments come to light:

(i) While the force of grammaticalization considerably wanes, moderate ADDITION of items takes place, observable in all classes, e.g. both *solum* and *tantum* 'only' Caes., Cic. →[108] with vestiges in Romance; *quippe* (still scarce

106. Fr. *certes* et sim. in concessive sense probably an independent development; likewise modal uses of descendants of *iam*.

107. Note extinction of disjunctive *uel*.

108. For the focusing 'only' already Terence has the compounded *tantummodo*.

in Early Latin); *quare* 'for; because' in Late Latin of the popular strand (*CIL* IX 3473 [*CE* 186].8–9 *tu qui legis bona uita uiue* ['live a good life'] *sodalis, quare* ['because'] *post obitum* [*n*]*ec risus nec lusus . . . erit* ['after death there will be neither laughter nor play']) may have evolved out of the consecutive-conclusive or an interrogative Classical use (cf. *quia* and subordinating *cur*, Einar Löfstedt 1911: 323–325). Increase is felt in particular in class (b), the discourse organizers; *donec* or *dunc*, sparsely attested as a marker of continuation and conclusion (*ThLL* s.vv. *donec*, col. 2003.45–54, *dum*, 2199.60–65), is a likely precursor of It. *dunque*, OSp. *doncas*, Fr. *donc*, etc.[109] Far more common than such occasional innovations are emerging discourse markers – adverbs, mainly – that are largely subject to choices made in presenting a message and that become entrenched as the result of recurring use at fixed points of the literary-rhetorical structure of the text (and therefore make their appearance typically in literary sources): *rursus* 'then again' Cic. →, but mainly later; *adhuc* originally present-tense bound, occurs in Cicero and then in the Historians as a generalized transition marker, and then Sen. →, Gaius in the sense of *praeterea* and marginally in Silver-Latin prose as focus marker ('*etiam*'); *proinde* Tac., Quint. → and frequent in Late Latin 'consequently' (earlier correlative and cohortative); and see Chausserie-Laprée (1969) passim and especially his comparative tables (28–39) on continuatives in Caesar, Sallust, and Livy.

(ii) Gradual DEMISE of particles is noticeable in Imperial Latin. The array of sentence connectors, in particular, shrinks: *atque* (to the advantage of *et*, after *-que* had already for a long while been receding before *et*); from non-artistic diction of already late Republican works (the non-Caesarian *Bella*, Vitruvius) and Petronius *atque* is absent or extremely rare in it as sentential connector; likewise *atqui*, that is moreover avoided in poetry; *at* too, becomes rare in post-Augustan Latinity, including popular language. It should be borne in mind that virtually all Classical Latin adversativity markers are extinct in Romance, having vanished in Late Latin at different times in different styles

109. Variously etymologized as, inter alia, *donec*, *doni/eque*, and also associated with *a tunc* or *ad tunc* (attested in several Late Latin sources) (Diez 1878; Körting 1907; Meyer-Lübke 1935), cf. OFr., Prov. *adonc* (extant in the Patois). Hofmann & Szantyr are skeptical about the Latin attestation, deriving the Romance from coordinating *donec* and analyzing (1965: 617, 630) all inscriptional *dunc* as instances of the subordinating conjunction.

and registers. Other classes, too, lose members: the lesser exponents of dubitative marking (*fors fuat an*, *fortasse an*) do not live on after the end of the second century BCE, not counting sporadic revival by Archaists such as Fronto, Gellius, and Apuleius; *saltem* 'at least; precisely' is not recorded in literary texts later than Apuleius and it is certainly not the only one of its kind.

(iii) SYNTACTIC RELOCATION – beyond the one occasionally taking place between the two subsets of cohesion markers (Section 2.3.3 (vi)) – is observable, if rarely. The adverbs *iterum*, *rursus*, *denuo* 'again', all becoming in later Latin exponents of (various shades of) adversativeness, also turn in numerous instances into independent connectors; *magis*, going from the adverb 'more' to the adversative connector 'but' in Romance and already in Late Latin prose, is the most striking example of this kind of relocation. The semantic link enabling this relocation can be found in Classical, Late, and even Early Latin instances such as Sall. *hist*. 3,48,17: *neque ego uos ultum iniurias hortor,* ***magis*** ('and I do not urge you to avenge your wrongs, more [= rather; but]') *uti requiem cupiatis, neque discordias . . . ,* ***sed*** ('not looking to dispute, but') *earum finem uolens . . .* , that is, *magis* in the replacive-eliminative adversative connection (Ger. *sondern*) of post-negative clauses (Melander 1916: 29–32; less reservedly about *magis* actually having gone through such a "replacive" stage Hey 1904: 204–205 and Ducrot and Vogt 1979).

(iv) Individual or entire groups of functionally related particles undergo SEMANTIC SHIFTS (that are observable already in earlier periods and gain momentum in later times, below, (v)); such shifts – by no means language-specific – affect mainly modalizers: reinforcing particles becoming concession markers as well: *sane*, *certe* 'assuredly' > 'to be sure'.[110] Dubitative modifiers become notations of imprecision ('about, circa'): *fortasse* (Cicero), *forsitan* (Silver Latin, *Itinerarium Egeriae*). Among cohesion markers we find the typically adversative *sed* and *tamen* in unambiguously justificatory linkings in some Classical instances (Cicero, Lucretius), as precursors of a stronger representation of this kind in Late Latin.[111]

110. The fact that mitigating or asserting utterances such as *credo*, *opinor* may affect a negated assertion belongs to the argumentative level (irony).

111. Detailed account of these and other connectives by Einar Löfstedt (1911: 30–34); cf. Ernout (1954: 200–201).

(v) These semantic shifts gain momentum in LATE LATIN, classicizing and "vulgar" alike, where they blend with a wider and different Late Latin tendency: conclusive *ergo*, (mainly) causal *nam*, and *enim* do mark connection and convey coherence, but can only be interpreted as copulative or at times slightly adversative connectors; *nam* may even introduce an entirely new subject-matter (B. Löfstedt 1976: 149; cf. note 16 on the inceptive use of connectors). One is here, as a matter of fact, in front of indiscriminate, or at any rate less distinct use of previously sharply differentiated connectors; these no longer convey a specific logical relation, and with this loss of the capacity of marking specific logical relations they become tokens of mere transition and adjunction of one sentence, or a chunk of some other size, to another. This enlarges considerably the class of discourse markers, however without distinct borderlines between its members, that is to say that free variation largely reigns. Such practice may stem from insufficient awareness of the subtleties of Classical Latin sentence connection: this appears to be the reason for the proliferated use of *ergo* in the *Itinerarium Egeriae* (ca. 140 instances), and possibly also for its occurrence in the representation of "vulgar" diction in Petronius (Petersmann 1977: 258); in less popular-vulgar sources, a loss of a semantic component expressing the logical relation in point may indeed take place, such as that of *ita* when it serves for mere continuation. This constellation brings about semantic – or functional – fields of very wide range and fuzziness of borderlines between particles. Although one must be wary of statements made by ancient grammarians to this effect, especially when they come from sources much removed from their object of research,[112] some such testimonies perhaps tell us something about this vagueness: "*Ast* apud antiquos uariam uim contulit uocibus, pro 'atque', pro 'ac', pro 'ergo', pro 'sed', pro 'tamen', pro 'tum', pro 'cum', ut in glossis antiquitatum legimus scriptum" (Char. *Gramm.* I 229.30–32).

(vi) The expansive clustering of seemingly synonymous particles in Late Latin is usually dealt with under the heading of PLEONASM or redundancy ("Abundanz" Szantyr). The most respectable and cautious of Classical schol-

112. As when Priscian (*gramm.* III 99,23–25) fails to identify the apodotic function of *at* in Verg. *Aen.* 6,405–407: *si te nulla mouet tantae pietatis imago*, *at ramum hunc … agnoscas* ('If the picture of such piety moves you not, yet acknowledge this branch') and says "*at* … pro … 'uel' et 'aut' inuenitur".

ars and Latinists (starting, to my knowledge, with Einar Löfstedt's *Kommentar* [1911])[113] have had no qualms about lavishly characterizing as such a long series of juxtaposed pairs of particles in Late Latin, and lumping them all together into the pot of pleonasm. But in reality these Late Latin clusters represent a complex situation: it is a debatable question, which ought to be answered in each case separately, as to when this phenomenon represents[114] 1) a whim of personal style: such pairs may occasionally reflect Plautus's playful way with words (e.g. *deinde porro*, *ibi tum*), are favored by Varro (e.g. *itaque ita/ideo/propterea/ob eam rem*), and form part of Ammianus's notoriously long-winded style (e.g. *ibi tum* – already in Plautus and Terentius – *tandem denique*, *denique tandem* [Hagendahl 1924: 213]), or 2) semantic bleaching of at least one of the components, plausible for a late stage of any language – a mixture of both factors is also possible – or else 3) juxtaposition of members of two discrete paradigms (cf. Section 1.3.5).[115] And while in Late Latin – as opposed to Early and Classical occurrences – bleaching and pleonastic juxtaposition can be more readily conceived of, there too this is not the only possible interpretation of such cases.

In addition to differing syntactic status of the two, viz. connector and adverb as in *sed/uerum autem* 'But then' (Plaut. →), *itaque ideo* 'So therefore' (Varro), etc., the two items may be of different semantic-pragmatic content: in the pairs *sed/uerum/at uero*, *namque enim* (Plaut.) the first connects, the second affirms: 'but surely', 'for indeed'. Furthermore, even where both particles are in the service of cohesion, the two particles may relate to two different analytical levels: one to the propositional level, the other to the discourse-presentation level. This is the case of the collocation *porro autem*

113. Passim, esp. at 59–62; his own and others' further research is summed up in *Syntactica* II (1933: 219–232), Hofmann & Szantyr (1965: 523–526).

114. The question arises only when both particles relate to the same host unit, i.e., both are adsentential.

115. The same question, unanswered as of now, applies to collocations of particles in other Indo-European languages. A few in-depth studies can be found: Thurmair (1989) for German, Kozianka (2000) for collocations in Vedic. Greek particles have been little dealt with in this respect beyond what can be gleaned from Denniston's scattered remarks, and that in passing rather than systematically; exceptional examples are Durling (1988) on Galenus and Rijksbaron (1997) on Plato. Cf. Dunkel (1982/83), who presents an attempt in this direction for Proto-Indo-European.

'then (*autem*) however (*porro*)', current in Cyprian, and of a good deal of so-called pleonastic temporal indications, in pairs of terms one of which marks the ongoing narrative or the continued argument, the other defining temporally the proposition (or adverbally the action), e.g.:

tum in eo tempore (Sempr.Asell.); *tum deinde* (Varro, Cic.); *tum post hoc* (Apul.); *post inde* (Enn.); *inde post* (Cic., Amm.); *inde postea* (Liv.); *postea deinde* (Cic. →).[116]

The same applies to particle combinations in the semantic field most liable, apparently, to exhibit such pairs, that of the consecutive-conclusive markers, whether the two are also 1) of different syntactic status (i.e., connector and adverb) or 2) of the same syntactic type, e.g.:

1. *itaque propterea/propter hoc/ideo/ob eam rem* (Varro); *ergo propterea* (Ter.); *quare … ideo/igitur/ergo* (Varro/Quint./LL); *idcirco ergo/igitur/itaque* (LL); *ideo propter hoc/ergo* (LL)
2. *ergo igitur* (Plaut. → LL); *itaque ergo* (Ter. → LL).

Not always are we in a position to safely account for the role of either member of the pair, but early attestation of a combination indicates a distribution of roles, no pleonasm involved. While redundancy undoubtedly is more likely to happen in later stages of the language, recurrent employment of one member by itself as a bleached discourse marker (of continuation, transition, etc.), such as that of *itaque* in Varro, or *ergo* in the *Itinerarium Egeriae*, suggests its having the same role also when collocated.

4.4 Varieties, differentiae

The chronological parameter is not the only one to bound functions and individual particles; dividing lines are determined by heterogeneous factors and according to the angle from which these are contemplated. Suffice it to regard the distribution of particles within the writings of Cato and Cicero (see attestation tables, Sections 4.2.2 and 4.2.3 above): neither diachrony nor personal style are the essential factors there. Moreover, as several examples below illustrate, it is usually not a single opposition alone (viz. of register, of literary

116. Provided the accepted sentence division is correct, an Archaic attestation can be found in *post inde* (*XII tab.* 3.2 apud Gell. 20,1).

genre, of text type, etc.) by which exponents of similar function differ from one another: these can be found situated on several such – intersecting – axes. Certain particles are unacceptable on external grounds: shapes unsuitable for a metric scheme will inevitably be "unpoetic"; other terms will be excluded from all but one syntactic or discourse-bound alternative: *amabo* et sim. will be limited to addressee-oriented direct-speech representation, *immo* will not occur in reported speech.[117] But outside of such conditionings, choices appear to have been exercised on the basis of a MIX OF DIMENSIONS which define varieties of Latin. Therefore, there is no way around regarding binary differentiations of varieties of Latin, such as that of "poetic" vs. "unpoetic" (Axelson 1945) or that of "spoken" vs. "written" Latin (Pulgram 1950 and since), as gross approximations. In this light the following examples too are to be judged.

4.4.1 nam, namque, enim

All three attested from Archaic Latin (Livius Andronicus, Naevius) to Late Latin, all three not subsisting in Romance, provide an illustrative example.

4.4.1.1 In poetry. Cicero's translations show a prima facie clear division: Cicero's POETIC translations have 8 *namque* (vs. none in prose translations), 21 *nam* (vs. 14 in prose), and no *enim* (vs. 34 in prose). Generally speaking, the rarer exponent *namque* is Classically represented mostly in poetry; in Petronius, too, *namque* is limited to the poetic passages (vs. *nam* and *enim*, both fairly common – 70 and 90, respectively – in both his vulgar and urbane diction). Still, while a favorite of poets (abundance in the *Aeneis*, cf. Axelson 1945: 47, statistics at 122), foremost representatives of prose also use *namque*: Caesar, Cicero himself (in the treatises, sporadically also in the Speeches and Letters), Tacitus. *Enim* is excluded not only from Cicero's poetry, but also – entirely or largely – from Tibullus, Propertius, Catullus; in Ovid's elegiac poetry, in Silius and Lucan it is found only in set expressions;

117. That is, in discourse carrying the formal characteristics of oratio obliqua (Rosén 2003: 175–176). Other modes in between ("style indirect libre") are not yet investigated as to admittance of particles, connecting, focusing and modalizing.

Virgil has mixed usage of *nam* and *enim*, while Lucretius,[118] Horace and Juvenal use *enim* freely (Axelson 1945: 122–123). Conversely, some prose writers (Cato, Sallust) refrain from *enim* or use it sparingly in non-narrative passages. Thus this appears to be a LITERARY-GENRE or TEXT-TYPE distinction, within the poetry : prose division.

4.4.1.2 In technical language. On the other hand, within one and the same genre – and presumably register – in the TECHNICAL language of household and medical manuals, the use of *enim* and *nam* sharply diverges. Langslow (2000: 550–553) describes the distribution of *enim* and *nam* in post-instructional statements[119] ('[do not] do so and so; *nam/enim* it is/does ...') backwards from Cassius Felix and Chiron (fourth–fifth century CE) through Celsus and Scribonius Largus (first century CE) to the early sources; here Cato[120] exclusively uses *nam* (e.g. *agr.* 5,4 *segetem ne defrudet: nam id infelix est* 'He must not cheat the crop, for that brings bad luck') and Varro – *enim* (e.g. *rust.* 2,5,15 *prouidendum ..., ne frigidus locus sit: algor enim eas ... macescere cogit* 'Care should be taken, that the place ... shall not be frosty, for chill ... makes them grow thin').[121] Here PERSONAL-STYLE choice, and possibly the CHRONOLOGICAL factor, appear to prevail.

4.4.2 Conclusiva

Of the three conclusiva *ergo*,[122] *itaque*, *igitur*, only the last figures in Cicero's translated texts (30 occurrences, none in poetry). This strong occurrence tallies with Cicero's generally marked preference for this exponent of the con-

118. Who allegedly exhibits also other "unpoetic" characteristics (Axelson 1945: 140). Note, however, that Cicero's translated poetic work comprises the expository-type *Aratea*.
119. In particular negative ones (Langslow 2000: 552).
120. Who has 3 *enim*, in the *Orationes*.
121. Post-instructional *et* and asyndesis, which Langslow (2000: 553) brings together with the above, in fact belong to a different syntactic pattern: in, e.g., *calidam picem bibito, aegritudo abscesserit* (Plaut. *Merc*. 140), Ø (and elsewhere *et*) introduce a (future-tense) apodosis to an imperatival protasis: 'Drink [= If you drink] hot tar, your worries will be gone' (cf. Section 1.3.6.1 above).
122. Classified as interactional by Kroon (1989: 238–240, 1998: 52).

clusive function (2304 occurrences vs. 617 *ergo* and 1300 *itaque*; *ThLL* s.v. *ergo*, col. 760.31–761.39, cf. Axelson 1945: 92–93). So this cannot be taken as evidence for prose vs. poetry as the critical factor. Also, Virgil and Horace, as well as Plautus and Terence, offer attestation of both *igitur* and *ergo*. *Igitur* was classified by Festus (Paul. Fest. 105M: "apud antiquos ponebatur pro 'inde' et 'postea' et 'tum' ") and Nonius (128M: "positum pro 'postea' ") as a continuative discourse marker; note Late Latin *ergo* in the same function (above, Section 4.3 (v)).

4.4.3 Copulative connectors

The distribution of the two most common copulative sentence connectors, *et* (first attested in an inscription of the mid third century) and *atque* (first in Livius Andronicus, translating ἀλλά) is regulated by REGISTER, clearly demonstrable in the usage of individual authors: in Cato out of a total of 93 occurrences, only 4 (2 sentential) are in the *De agri cultura*, the other 89 in the History and Speeches, while out of a total of 525 *et*, only 30 are in the History and Speeches, the other 495 in *On Agriculture*. In Petronius, *atque* is absent from the freedmen's speeches and used freely in the "urbane" and poetic passages (cf. Einar Löfstedt 1911: 70; Petersmann 1977: 239; Hofmann & Szantyr 1965: 477).

4.4.4 Contra, autem

Adversative *contra*, although marginally signaling topic switch – not unlike *at* – in Comedy, has its regular habitat in historical narrative (Orlandini forthcoming). As for *autem*, the fact that in Cicero's translations we find it with massive occurrence (80 in prose vs. 10 in poetry) and that it is more frequent in Cicero's theoretical treatises than in his other writings (Hand I 565) is self-explanatory: the wide semantic range of *autem* makes of it an essential tool of reasoning, clad in periodic style, and it soon becomes a marker of transition in discourse, hardly ever used in lyric and elegiac, somewhat more in epic poetry. These are TEXT-TYPE differentiations, which unlike those of other adjoining-adversative particles cut through the axes of poetry : prose and literary genres and may prevail over the differences of register: *autem*, despite its vitality in narrative and expository texts and passages, does not survive in

any Romance language, yet in Petronius it figures in the "vulgar" as well as in the "urbane" sections (Petersmann 1977: 247).

4.4.5 Nunc, proinde, immo

Beyond sentence type, i.e., syntactic environment in whose limits specific modifiers operate, discourse mode, too, may determine particle usage: contrary to *tum*, which as cohesion and discourse marker figures indiscriminately in a large variety of text types and discourse types, *nunc* is a communication marker ('Well then') which within various literary genres and text types (of informal register, Risselada 1996: 124) functions in DIALOGUE and in REPRESENTED DIRECT SPEECH (including that of epistolography) throughout the entire Latinity. However, while DISCOURSE MODE and SPEECH MODE are its defining features, *nunc* as discourse marker can also be found in narrative, though less frequently, provided it is eyewitness (I person sg.) narrative. *Proinde*, which as a discourse marker is common in indirect as well as in direct speech and in certain historiographical styles (Caesar, Sallust, Tacitus) even favors indirect discourse (to the exclusion of *ergo* and *igitur*), is typically current within represented and reported speech at points of transition from assertions to directives (Bortolussi and Sznajder forthcoming). On the other hand, *immo* and several other connectors (whose inventory is yet to be determined) are not admitted into (full-fledged) oratio obliqua (see Note 117), not unlike the *hic et nunc* pronominal nouns and adverbs. A switch from one discourse mode to another may cancel the sphere of influence of a given particle.

4.4.6 Narrative discourse markers

Selecting discourse markers of past-time narrative within each text-structuring subset (e.g. that of particles signaling shift of action with same protagonists – *interea* and *interim*, see Don. Ter. *Andr*. 69: "*interea* est cum habet instantiam ['presence'] superiorum actorum" – or particles signaling openings, "notations temporelles initiales" Chausserie-Laprée, etc.) is carried out differently by INDIVIDUAL AUTHORS, also within the same literary genre; cf. frequency charts for the major historians in Chausserie-Laprée (1969: 24–39 and passim). Such choices may combine with specific syntactic patterns:

Ammianus tends to connect by *deinde* (and at times by *autem*) a participle postposed to a complete sentence, e.g. 19,7,1: … . *perculsae deinde* … ("Auftakt" Bitter 1976: 174). In order to single out sentence constituents, Lucretius (who steers clear of the focus marker *praecipue*) repeatedly uses the generally unpoetic *in primis* (Axelson 1945: 94–95). In the very different context of Medieval Latin, the consistent use of, or pronounced preference for, one particle out of a synonymous set was the primary instrument in authorship identification (some parts of the *Aristoteles Latinus* translated by James of Venice [twelfth century?] rather than by Boethius: Minio-Paluello 1952: 282–291).

4.4.7 Dumtaxat

The type of focus a focus particle marks may be crucial for its fate. *Dumtaxat*, attested as early as Plautus and the *Lex Silia* and as late as Gaius and the *Digesta*, sporadically is used freely as a rival of *tantum* and *solum* in constructions such as 'not only …, but … '. But as a rule it is not only avoided in poetry (Axelson 1945: 96), but in conformity with its etymology ('as much as he/one assesses') is strong in legal and commercial contexts (and consequently frequently modifies numerals). Here immediate CONTEXT determines the choice of the specific modifier.

4.4.8 The modalizer profecto

Profecto, one of the modal particles which enhance the truth-value of a proposition and its relevance and emphasizes the speaker's commitment, has a high profile of occurrence: from Plautus into Late Latin (but not in Romance); its occurrence is not governed by the poetic or prosaic character of the text (except for its awkwardness in dactylic poetry); naturally it has little use in technical writing (1 in Varro, rare in Vitruvius and the *Digesta*). *Profecto* is favored by contexts which are out to convince, in speech-representing or other communication; therefore it is understandably frequent e.g. in Plautus's and in Cicero's works (about 40 % found in the correspondence and another 40 % in the Orations). Here it is not even the text type that occasions the modifier, but the type of MOTIVATION, or OBJECTIVE defining the utterance.

4.4.9 Dubitatives

The long series of modalizers meaning ‘perhaps’, which are based on predications of *forte* and *fors* + subordinate shapes (*an* and forms of *esse*), are, taken together, attested throughout Latin (and live on in It. *forse* and cognate dialectal forms). The more common forms *fortasse* and *forsitan* acquire also the meaning of an approximating adverb ‘about, circa’. The less current forms *forsan*, *forte*, and *fors*, and also *forsitan*, are qualified in ancient grammatical tradition as poetic: “*forsan* et *forsitan* poetis relinquemus” (Char. *Gramm.* I 185.16) and more decidedly: “*forte forsan* et *forsitan* poeticum est, *fortasse* prosae” (Cledon. *Gramm.* V 66.30–31). The last statement is only in part supported by extant attestation: *forte* in the sense of ‘maybe’ (beyond its collocating with (*ni*)*si* and a few other subordinators) as well as *forsan* indeed are both largely poetical, but *fortasse*, while banned from epic and lyric poetry, figures, alongside the other exponents, in satiric (Horace, Martial, Juvenal) and elegiac (Ovid) poetry (Axelson 1945: 31–32). Some facts of occurrence in authors commonly considered contemporaneous also rule out diachrony as the decisive factor for the distribution of the two common representatives: Caesar employs *fortasse* in his *Commentarii*, whereas the non-Caesarian *Bella* exhibit *forsitan* and *forsan*; Tacitus has 3 *forsitan* vs. 9 *fortasse*, Petronius – exclusively *forsitan*. A clear-cut division within one author’s usage – Apuleius with *fortasse* in the philosophical writings and *forsitan* (+ 1 *fortassis*) in the *Metamorphoses* – as well as Late Latin and Romance (It. *forse*) evidence – corroborates Einar Löfstedt’s (1911: 47–49, 1933: 304) attribution of *fortasse* to elevated style and *forsitan* to lower language. The absence of the popular *forsitan* from Plautus’s comedies,[123] which offer many *fortasse*/*-assis*, is one more indication for the non-popular, stylized character of Plautus’s diction. This is a neat distinction of REGISTER, cutting across the dimensions of time, personal taste, and literary genre.

4.4.10 Demum

REGISTER is the defining factor in a long series of choices: focusing *demum*, a favorite tool of Quintilian’s expository style, is rare in works of lower register:

123. Once, *Pseud.* 432 *forsitan* : *fors fuat an* vv.ll.

in Petronius it occurs only as a variant reading of *dein(de)*, in the *Itinerarium Egeriae* – of *denuo*, Catullus offers no instance and Cicero's correspondence six (out of a total of 23 in his works).

4.4.11 Et, rogo, praecipue

Few are the cases where a neat CHRONOLOGICAL PROCESS lies behind the use of equifunctional particles: *-que* as sentence connector is early on replaced by *et*, to a considerable extent; modal *rogo* 'please' takes over from *quaeso* and *oro* in Imperial Latin and alone lives on into Romance (Hofmann [1936] 1951: 129–130); while in Early and Classical Republican Latin the second of the two focus markers *praecipue* and *praesertim* ('especially, in particular') is exclusive or markedly predominant, Augustan poets prefer the first which then becomes prominent in Imperial Latin.

5. Typological characterization

In the following we shall discuss characteristics of sentential connection and modification which are significant from the perspective of typological comparison and thus conducive to delineating the profile of Latin.

5.1 Traits

5.1.1 Abundance and diversification

The wealth and morphological diversification in the field of Latin particles can be gathered from Sections 2.1.1 and 2.1.2; these are manifest not only when the field is taken globally, but also within each individual class (b) to (d), somewhat less in (a) (the connectives). Certain correlations that nevertheless do exist between morphological type and function also come to light there (see above, Sections 2.3.1–2.3.2).

5.1.2 Morphological transparency

Compared to particles in other ancient Indo-European languages, Latin particles, the strictly connective ones included, are represented considerably less by mono- and disyllabic non-analyzable entities or by “partikelhaft” pronominal elements, since in Latin many particles derive from detached or still slightly motivated adverbs, and this even without considering later, historical functionalization. In a language such as Greek both connection and the nuancing of modality more often draw on a resource of forms not deriving from words morphologically still motivated, and that even in the earliest stages of the history of Greek. Although the strictly speaking Indo-European shared pool of particles is small (see Section 3.1), once one goes beyond that shared resource, one finds, in Greek for example, a set of particles not exhibiting nominal (or verbal) morphology (i.e., “just” particles) which is prominent within the overall inventory of particles and represented in all function classes. Latin belongs to another type: connection and, partly, focus marking, have at their disposal a sizable inventory of items unmotivated in Latin itself, partly paralleled in other Italic languages; modality, on the other hand, mainly draws on members of existing paradigms recruited for this task, and functioning at different points on the scale of grammaticality.

5.1.3 Enclitic character

The clitic nature, which is characteristic of corresponding entities in numerous other ancient Indo-European languages, is marginal with Latin particles of historical times, diminishing with time, unless a particle is drawn into second position by semantically related enclitic particles, e.g. *itaque* by analogy to *ergo* and *igitur* (Janson 1979: 115); moreover, the clitic nature is subject to personal stylistic taste: while first-place *autem* is considered a barbarism at all times,[124] *enim* occurs in Early Latin and later Archaists in sentence-initial position (admittedly with different semantics [Hofmann & Szantyr 1965: 507–508]); Cicero and Petronius, for instance, have second-place *igitur*, Vitruvius

124. “Soloecismus” Quint. *inst.* 1,5,39, Char. *Gramm.* I 267.19; cf. *ThLL* s.v., col. 1577.78–1578.7.

exclusively and Sallust preferentially first-place, Pliny's *Naturalis historia* half and half; *ergo* is in half of its occurrences in Cicero in sentence-initial position (in *ThLL* s.v. *ergo* detailed compared positions of *ergo*, *igitur*, *itaque*; Janson 1979: 100), etc. Cohesive adverbs, however, tend to occupy the second position, following not only the connectors (see Section 1.3.5): in Classical historiography *contra* 'on the other hand' normally comes after newly introduced topics (which are represented by proper nouns and personal pronouns [Orlandini forthcoming]), but Ammianus has them typically postposed to *contra* (Bitter 1976: 175). The absence of all Latin enclitic particles from Romance as well as from most Late Latin writings (with the exception of archaistic ones) points to the aversion of the spoken language towards clitics (Janson 1979: 92). Future research should establish correlations, if any, between the placement of a specific particle and its function, of the kind observed for *enim* (first place affirmative – and in later Latin also adversative [Hey 1904: 207–208] –, enclitic both causal and affirmative, roughly). Consequently, Latin is by and large – barring poetic licence and certain rhythmical constraints – a language with fixed placing for its sentential particles, for discourse markers and connectives above all, but also for modal particles: these are admitted in varying degrees in one or more of the opening or medial slots of the sentence, less at sentence-end (cf. Section 1.3.4), but never breaching the unity of a minimal phrase, or of a colon.

5.1.4 Productivity and innovation

Latin is a language with an extremely high percentage of grammaticalized particles, delexicalized from varied lexical entities. Needless to say, this process, together with overall productivity, gradually tapers off; even later periods of increased coinage such as in Cicero's times, do not benefit the field of particles. The majority of these words are encountered fully delexicalized already in early sources of literary Latin. However, in the case of the fragmentary sources of Archaic literary Latin the functional non-lexical value often is not verifiable; and, needless to say, non-literary texts, our main source in the Archaic period, utilize this nuancing sentential modification only in a limited way. On the other hand, careful scrutiny reveals that even analogous (and synonymous?) particles are situated on different points of the grammaticalization continuum (cf. Section 3.2.2.5 on *amabo* – *sis*). Others

become modalizers already on the strength of their lexematic value (e.g. *certe* = *certo*) and may acquire later on an additional, incidental function (*certe* as concessive). All this bears witness to a language with an extremely vigorous and fruitful creative drive, if only in its initial stages, in the realm of particles.

5.1.5 Connection

We will deal summarily with the Latin phenomena specific to connection, in particular the intersentential one (a) and its means of expression (which in part serve also as discourse and communication markers (b)).

5.1.5.1 Flexibility of connective particles. All constituent coordinators function also as sentence connectors – not all languages can claim this flexibility of the tools of connection and cohesion (Dik 1972: 215; Mithun 1988: 349–351). This applies also to the connector Ø (asyndesis). Still, for some of the terms one of the two functions is more central than the other, and the center may also shift over time: the case of *-que*, originally joining sentences as well as constituents and becoming early on predominantly a constituent coordinator, is the most conspicuous one. Contrariwise, not all sentence-joining elements are also sentence-constituent coordinators: the connective role of *at*, *autem*, *ceterum*, *ergo*, *igitur*, *itaque*, *tamen*, *uerum*, does not extend to the conjoining of constituents.

The trend from essentially constituent addition or modification to sentence addition, evident in the evolution from IE **eti* 'also' to *et* 'and' in Latin – the only Italic language to have *et* as the default sentence connector – repeats itself in historical Latin: *quoque* (extinct in Romance) becomes in Late Latin (inscriptional, Venantius Fortunatus, Biblical Latin) a sentence connector, even with adversative shading (Einar Löfstedt 1911: 137–138).

5.1.5.2 Clause-linkage parameters. On the axis of clause linkage we find that Latin adjoined sentences are – to use Chr. Lehmann's (1988) parameters:
(i) not integrated (or embedded);
(ii) capable of being interlaced (e.g. by gapping);
(iii) without any loss of sententiality;

(iv) but not autonomous (when the sentence connector is included);[125]
(v) either explicitly linked (with connectives of various semantics) or with the minimal explicit linking, i.e., asyndetic.

5.1.5.3 Asyndetic linkage. Latin is a language in whose system of formal coherence asyndesis plays an important role, yet to be fully ascertained and evaluated. As a rule, Latin asyndesis has been dealt with in the context of stylistics.[126] And in fact, only in a personal style or a genre-constrained style that employs connectors, whether generously or stingily, is asyndesis marked and therefore meaningful on some level of analysis. Take for instance Cic. *Catil.* 1,3:

(61) *an uero* uir amplissimus P. Scipio, pontifex maximus, **Ti. Gracchum mediocriter labefactantem statum rei publicae** PRIUATUS *interfecit*. _ **Catilinam orbem terrae caede atque incendiis uastare cupientem** nos CONSULES *perferemus?*
'But perhaps – that distinguished man, P. Scipio, a pontifex maximus, killed as a private citizen Ti. Gracchus who slightly shook the condition of the state [and, contrariwise,] Catilina, who is anxious to destroy the whole world with murder and fire – him shall we as consuls tolerate?'

Purposeful asyndesis – coupled with chiastic ordering – here lends an antithetic character to each sentence constituent and to the two sentences as a whole. On the other hand, in specific syntactic environments (of which we have so far ascertained three) asyndesis is compulsory in Latin:

125. Despite anomalous instances of inceptive *et*, *quoque* etc. (see Sections 1.1.2 and 1.1.4 with Note 16).
126. Thus in Lausberg ([1960] 1973: § 709–711), Hofmann & Szantyr (1965: 828–831); in Ancient rhetorical theory, too, asyndesis is dubbed "σχῆμα", "figura" (Lausberg [1960] 1973: § 707 at p. 354 and § 1114.4 at p. 535).

(i) at the beginning of a sentence directly continuing a presentative sentence:[127]

(62) Ter. *Andr*. 221–222: *Fuit olim quidam senex mercator. _ nauim is fregit.*
'Once upon a time there was an old man, a merchant. He was [commonly translated 'who was' or 'and he was'] shipwrecked.'

(63) Apul. *met*. 4,28: *Erant in quadam ciuitate rex et regina. _ hi tres numero filias . . . habuere.*
'Once upon a time in a certain city there lived a king and queen. They had [commonly translated 'who had' or 'and they had'] three daughters . . . '

(ii) in between sentences in a participial or conjunctional "catena" construction:

(64) Hor. *sat*. 2,3,104: *Si quis emat citharas, _ **emptas** comportet in unum, . . .*
'Whoever buys lyres, [and] having bought them assembles them, . . . '

(65) Plin. *epist*. 7,27,10: *deserit comitem. _ **desertus** herbas . . . ponit.*
'. . . left its companion alone. Having been left alone he put grass . . . '

(66) inc.com. 2–4 apud *Rhet.Her*. 1,9,14: *Megaram aduenit . . . ; _ **ubi aduenit** Megaram, insidias fecit . . . ; _ **insidias postquam fecit**, uim . . . attulit.*
'. . . arrived at Megara; when he arrived at Megara, he lay in wait . . . ; after lying in wait, he forced himself . . . '

(iii) where *inquam* 'I have said' reinforces a resumptive pronoun or noun:

(67) Cic. *Verr*.II 5,177: *non is promulgauit . . . , sed hic reus. _ **hic, inquam**, . . . curauit.*
'It is not that man who published it . . . , but this defendant here. This man here, I repeat, saw to it . . . '

127. Such a sentence, always containing an anaphoricum, is part of a set pattern of presentation (Rosén 1998).

Few other environments also show marked preference for asyndesis: resumptive nominalizations (*nomen delatum erit – nominis delatio esto*), whether accompanied by anaphorica or not, rarely are preceded by connectors (Rosén 2002: 343).

But a void is also a member of specific connector paradigms, and at times a prominent member, as in the paradigm of superordinators. Once identified as a member of a coordination paradigm, a zero connector serves as a heuristic means of establishing the syntactic status of other particles: *iam* in an apodosis clause is not its connector, but the temporal adverb or asseverative particle in a clause which may be introduced either by *et* et sim. or by zero (see Section 1.3.6.1).

5.1.5.4 Particle clusters. In Latin, particles are not gregarious (to use Denniston's term). Particle strings are much harder to come by than, e.g., in Hittite or in Greek (cf. Notes 81 and 115). Again, Ancient translation provides proof for this typological fact: the corpus of Early and Classical translated literature records examples of single connectives which match Greek complexes of connecting elements – in otherwise faithfully translated texts (sources and full list in Rosén 1989a, esp. at 394):

igitur for γὰρ δή; οὖν; νῦν οὖν
tamen for ἀλλὰ καί, ἄλλ' ἄρα
nam(que) for γὰρ δή
autem for δὲ δή
sic for δὴ νῦν

Even where Greek appears to have – as far as we understand the functioning of Greek particles – semantic components of a connection broken up into adjunction (e.g. by δέ) and the specific logical relationship (e.g. conclusive, or perhaps asseverative, οὖν), at times combining members of different paradigms,[128] Latin translation offers the single connector *igitur*. In this context the allegedly common phenomenon of pleonasm, in its principal hunting ground, i.e. the combination of particles of definite affinity, may come to mind; it ought to be left to the description of Late Latin developments (see

128. Greek particle combinations are usually just listed as such with observations as to their semantics (see Note 115); Greek particle research does not as a rule concern itself with paradigmatic affiliation.

Section 4.3 (v)–(vi)). Classical Latin does not typically combine two equifunctional words in the realm of sentence modification and connection.

5.1.5.5 The epitactic construction. A special place must be given in the description of Latin to asymmetric coordination (which I term "epitaxis" in the Celtological tradition; Rosén 1990). This pattern (Eng. ..., ... *at that*, Ger. ..., *und zwar* ...) is reserved for the presentation of an additional rheme, thus bringing into focus an element that did not figure in the preceding – syntactically and informationally saturated – sentence, provided this element is a secondary component (an adnominal adjunct or an adverbal one, whether adverb, "praedicativum", non-argumental case form, prepositional phrase, or clause; see also Section 5.3.3.2):

(68) Plaut. *Bacch.* 538: *Numquae aduenienti aegritudo obiecta est?* :: *Atque acerruma.*
'Has some illness come your way? :: [Yes,] and a most violent one.'

(69) Calp. *ecl.* 3,8: *uror, et immodice.*
'I am burning up, and that excessively.'

The Latin pattern is significantly less constrained than in Greek or in Celtic and also than in German,[129] which are all languages amply using this pattern.

The shift of focus by this pattern is carried out with the aid of connectors (of class (a)) which thus serve here a purpose usually achieved by the focus markers (d).

Latin epitaxis is highly variegated as to participating connectors (such as *et*, *atque*, *uerum*, *sed*, ..., including Ø [asyndesis]); as a rule, the accurate epitactic force of the Latin connectors is not reflected in many translations (in the manner of those presented in Table 11, taken by and large from Loeb Classical Library editions). Some connectors, such as *immo*, are vanishingly rare in epitaxis, others such as *atque*, *et* – extremely current; some occur preferably after a specific sentence type or illocutionary type, e.g. *sed* epitactic to directive sentences, some are limited to epitaxes of a specific syntac-

129. Greek and Celtic require pronominal support (see below); in Modern German – in contrast to Middle High German (Behaghel 1928: 315) – this pattern is barely used without the focus marker *zwar* (< *zu wahr*).

tic structure, e.g., *at* adnominally introducing interrogative-exclamative (*qu-*) epitaxes. The pattern can also be varied by additional optional modalizers and – mainly – focus markers, the most common ones in epitaxis denoting 'in particular', 'even', 'moreover' (*quidem*, *adeo*, *etiam*); some adverbs are capable of adverbally introducing almost exclusively (so *nimirum*) or preferably (so *utique*, *praesertim*) clausal epitaxes (without explicit connector). Epitaxis is variegated also as to the crutch upon which the additional rheme leans: either zero, or the repeated nucleus, or else a pro-form, verbal (*facere*) or nominal (*id*, *is/ea/id*), supports the appendage.

Table 11. Epitaxis

Adverbal	Adnominal
tibi … sum iratus …, Ø grauiter **quidem**.[(a)]	pugna fuit, Ø non longa **quidem**.[(A)]
multa euenient, **et** merito meo.[(b)]	morbo, **et** non insanabili, correptus[(B)]
nobis uero [placet], **et** uehementer **quidem**.[(c)]	… nox est, **et quidem** horrida et terribilis[(C)]
more hoc fit, **atque** stulte mea sententia.[(d)]	Seruos ego? :: **atque** meus.[(D)]
illa ad hostes transfugerunt. … **atque quidem** cito.[(e)]	Estne numerandum in bonis? :: **ac** maximis **quidem**.[(E)]
postulabant homines nobilissimi … . postulabant **autem** pro homine miserrimo.[(f)]	
reuocatus est, **uerum** sub condicione … .[(g)]	gladii et scuta, **uerum** ea Numidica[(G)]
perscribe ad me omnia, **sed** diligentissime.[(h)]	uilibus ancipites fungi ponentur amicis, boletus domino, **sed** quales Claudius edit.[(H)]
fac … deducantur isti. :: Faciam. :: **at** diligenter. :: Fiet. :: **at** mature.[(i)]	equester ordo, **at** quorum equitum![(I)]
haeret enim … omnis materiai copia, **nimirum** quia non … exstat.[(j)]	haec … est tyrannorum uita, **nimirum** in qua nulla fides, nulla caritas … potest esse.[(J)]
surge et inhumanae senium depone Camenae …, **praesertim** cum ualeas.[(k)]	non tam ista me sapientiae … fama delectat, falsa **praesertim**.[(K)]
Repeated nucleus	
erras, et uehementer **erras**.[(l)]	possidetur a plebe, et **a plebe** optima et modestissima.[(L)]
dixitne … causam …? … dixit, et bis quidem **dixit**.[(m)]	est igitur in pedibus, et metricis quidem **pedibus**.[(M)]
… ferendum non putant, et recte **non putant**.[(n)]	
uiues, et **uiues** ita ut uiuis, … obsessus, ne … possis …[(o)]	equester ordo, at quorum **equitum**![(O)]
postulabant homines nobilissimi … . **postulabant** autem pro homine miserrimo.[(p)]	

Table 11 (continued). Epitaxis

Adverbal	Adnominal
With pro-form	
negotium magnum est nauigare, atque **id** mense Quintili.[q]	erant in eo plurimae litterae, nec **eae** uolgares.[Q]
iterum iam hic in me inclementer dicit, atque **id** sine malo.[r]	esse aliquam mentem, et **eam** quidem acriorem et diuinam[R]
	gladii et scuta, uerum **ea** Numidica[S]
	… pauperem domum ducere te uxorem, praesertim **eam** qua …[T]
suscepi causam …, et **feci** libenter.[u]	
Complectere. :: **facio** lubens.[v]	
Translations	
[a] Ter. *Hec*. 623–624: 'I am angry with you …, very angry indeed' (trans. Barsby)	[A] Lucan. 4,472: 'There was a battle, not a long one'
[b] Plaut. *Capt*. 971: 'There'll be plenty coming, and it serves me right' (trans. Nixon)	[B] Sen. *epist*. 77,5: 'seized by a disease which was by no means hopeless' (trans. Gummere)
[c] Cic. *Brut*. 122: 'Indeed we like that, and like that even a great deal'	[C] Sen. *nat*. 3,27,10: '… is now black night, and a night that is dreadful and terrible' (trans. Corcoran)
[d] Plaut. *Stich*. 641: 'This happens routinely, and is silly to my mind'	[D] Plaut. *Cas*. 735: 'I, a slave? :: Yes, and mine, too' (trans. Duckworth)
[e] Plaut. *Epid*. 30: 'They deserted to the enemy. … Yes, and in a hurry, too' (trans. Nixon)	[E] Cic. *leg*. 2,12: 'Must we consider it a good? :: [Yes,] and one of the greatest'
[f] Cic. *S. Rosc*. 119: 'Those who made the request were the noblest … men. … Moreover, they made the request on behalf of a most miserable man'(trans. Freese)	
[g] Suet. *Tib*. 13,2: 'He was recalled, but on the understanding …' (trans. Rolfe)	[G] Sall. *Iug*. 94,1: '… swords and shields, but Numidian shields' (trans. Rolfe)
[h] Cic. *Att*. 5,13,3: 'Report to me everything, and most attentively'; 'Give me full and comprehensive reports, really conscientious ones' (trans. Shackleton Bailey)	[H] Iuv. 5,146–147: 'dubious mushrooms shall be placed before the ordinary friends, a noble mushroom before the master, but of the kind Claudius used to eat'
[i] Ter. *Eun*. 207–208: 'Mind you see about taking these two slaves to her … . :: Yes, sir. :: And be careful how you do it. :: Yes, sir. :: And do it quickly' (trans. Anonymous in Duckworth 1942)	[I] Cic. *Rab. perd*. 20: '… the order of knights, and what knights!'

Table 11 (continued). Epitaxis

Adverbal	Adnominal
(j) Lucr. 3,193–194: 'For the whole mass of its matter coheres . . . , assuredly because it is not made of . . . ' (trans. Rouse)	(J) Cic. *Lael*. 52: 'Such . . . is the life of tyrants, a life, I mean, in which there can be no faith, no affection' (trans. Falconer)
(k) Hor. *epist*. 1,18,47–50: 'Up with you and cast aside the glumness of your unsocial muse . . . , especially when you are in health' (trans. Fairclough)	(K) Cic. *Lael*. 15: 'I am not so much delighted by my reputation for wisdom . . . , especially since it is undeserved' (trans. Falconer)
Repeated nucleus	
(l) Sen. *contr*. 9,5,3: 'You are wrong, badly wrong' (trans. Winterbottom)	(L) Cic. *leg.agr*. 2,84: 'It is in the possession of the plebs, an excellent and most disciplined plebs, at that'
(m) Cic. *Cluent*. 103: 'Was he . . . not tried? . . . As a matter of fact, he was tried twice' (trans. Grose Hodge)	(M) Quint. *inst.* 9,4,52: 'Therefore it consists of feet, and precisely ['by which I mean' Butler] metrical feet'
(n) Cic. *Verr*.II 3,168: 'They feel it intolerable that . . . . And they are justified in feeling this' (trans. Greenwood)	
(o) Cic. *Catil*. 1,6: 'You shall live, and live as you live now, besieged . . . , so that you cannot . . . '	(O) Cic. *Rab. perd*. 20: '. . . the order of knights, and what knights!'
(p) Cic. *S. Rosc*. 119: 'Those who made the request were the noblest . . . men. . . . Moreover, they made the request on behalf of a most miserable man' (trans. Freese)	
With pro-form	
(q) Cic. *Att*. 5,12,1: 'Travelling by sea is no light matter, even in July' (trans. Shackleton Bailey)	(Q) Cic. *Brut*. 265: 'He had wide reading, not merely of the current kind' (trans. Hendrickson)
(r) Plaut. *Amph*. 742: 'This man, for the second time, is rude, and yet receives no punishment' (trans. Allison in Duckworth 1942)	(R) Cic. *nat.deor*. 2,18: '. . . the existence of a mind, and that a mind of surpassing ability and in fact divine' (trans. Rackham)
	(S) Sall. *Iug*. 94,1: '. . . swords and shields, but Numidian shields' (trans. Rolfe)
	(T) Plaut. *Epid*. 169–172: '. . . that you marry a . . . poor woman, especially one of whom . . . '
(u) Cic. *Sull*. 20: 'I have undertaken the case, and I have done so gladly' (trans. Macdonald)	
(v) Plaut. *Asin*. 615: 'Embrace me! :: That I do gladly.'	

5.2 Co-occurrence of particles with exponents of other categories

Recurrent or constant co-occurrence of specific elements serving cohesion or modification with certain exponents of other language categories suggests a stable correlation between the two given types of linguistic elements. Although we are not in a position to put forward either of them as the conditioning factor, one might surmise that in the case of an element explicitly denoting logical relationship between the sentences – a connector – it selects the other.

5.2.1 Connector–tense correlations

Certain connectors collocate with certain tense forms, structuring together the storyline with its settings. *Enim* or *nam* + imperfect is by now a banal example (Rosén 1980: 40; Kroon 1998: 57–60). Table 12 (an extract of Kroon 1998: 52), based on a sample from narrative texts and Petronius, charts the collocations of the perfect, the historic present, and the imperfect.

Table 12. Connectors : tenses

	Perf. (%)	Praes. hist. (%)	Impf. (%)
ergo	54	22	4
igitur	48	27	9
nam	33	4	30
at	31	21	19
enim	25	2	40
autem	22	8	48

5.2.2 Connector–anaphoric pronoun collocations

Certain anaphoric pronouns are found to preferably collocate with certain connectors, while other combinations are rare or avoided; together they serve cohesion and participant tracking. The data in Table 13 come from a sample of narrative (from Caes. *Gall.*) and expository (from Plin. *nat.*) texts (Bolkestein and Van de Grift 1994: 296–297).

Table 13. Connectors and anaphorics

most preferred	*at ille*	*hic autem*	*hic ergo*	*hic igitur*	*nam is*	*hic enim*
least preferred	*at is*	*ille autem*	*is ergo*	*ille igitur*	*nam ille*	*ille enim*

5.2.3 Modalizers and sentence type

Several sentential particles will co-occur with a given verbal mood or in a given sentence type, whereas they will not be admitted into a sentence of a different modality or (morphosyntactic) type: *profecto* 'assuredly' with the indicative,[130] *sis* 'please' only in the imperative sentence type.

5.2.4 Modalizer–interjection collocations

Co-occurrence of affirming particles (such as *profecto*, *sane*, *certe*) or entreaty-reinforcing/mitigating ones (such as *amabo*) with interjections (such as *hercle*, *(ede)pol*, *ecastor*), which is strongly attested primarily in direct speech, is common in lyric poetry, in epistolography, and particularly in drama:

(70) Ter. *Andr*. 229: ***sane pol*** *illa temulentast mulier*.
'The truth is, by God, this woman is a drunkard.'

(71) Plaut. *Pseud*. 340: *dic mihi* ***obsecro hercle***.
'By God, tell me, please.'

The two components of such clusters, the particle and the interjection, have each a separate function, the first modalizing as to truth and actuality value or as to the commitment of the speaker, the second reflecting the state of mind and level of emotional engagement of the speaker. But both demonstrate an attitude on the part of the speaker and share the environment of impassioned speech representation, in dialogue or monologue, thus generating an expressive subsidiary value, or connotation.[131] They are, however, independent of

130. Unless in an apodosis of a contrary-to-fact conditional sentence, where *profecto* conveys the certainty of the ensuing proposition.
131. It must be this common expressive effect that brings about muddled ancient and modern accounts of both fields (e.g. Müller 1997: 65–155). See Biville (1996) for a sound mor-

each other; just how frequently and under what conditions interjections and modalizers cluster in Latin remains to be investigated.

5.3 Complementarity between modification by particles and other mechanisms

Finally, as with any other type of means of expression harnessed for use in a functional category, we need to carefully explore in the domain of constituent and sentence modification and connection the extent to which particles share with and take the load off other means of expression, in short, whether there is complementary distribution, or perhaps partial complementarity, between particles and other phenomena; this question ought to be put to research on every level of linguistic analysis.

5.3.1 Grammar and illocution

In Latin, in which verbal mood is relatively restricted in comparison to some other ancient Indo-European idioms, e.g. Greek, but developed compared to others (Hittite which has none), particles play a major role in directive utterances.

(i) When these particles co-occur with imperatives and other injunctives in the IMPERATIVE sentence type, they just nuance the directive illocution, as in, e.g.:

(72) Apul. *apol.* 100: *aperi, **quaeso**, bone puer, aperi testamentum.*
'Open, my dear boy, please open the will!'

Thus they fill in for modalities not covered by Latin morphosyntax (although we cannot know exactly what the resulting shading is in each case).[132]

(ii) In EXCLAMATIVE sentences (of the *qu-* interrogative-pronoun type) particles appear to obtain no more than a reinforcement of the exclamatory force of the sentence, bringing out the speaker's shades of intention or (agitated) state of mind:

phological and phonological description of interjections in Latin and Mosegaard-Hansen (1998: 38–41), with literature, on the delimitation of interjections vs. particles.

132. Manuals usually go by the lexical meaning of the word, which is an unsuitable and highly misleading guideline in the case of function words.

(73) Plaut. *Epid.* 243: *quam facile … euenit illi, **obsecro**!*
'Mercy me [trans. Nixon] / Gracious [trans. Duckworth], how easily do things come her way!'

(74) Plaut. *Poen.* 325: ***obsecro** hercle, ut mulsa loquitur!*
'Oh, man, man, what [Nixon] / Just listen to the [Duckworth] honeyed words!'

(75) Plaut. *Mil.* 399–400: *at, Sceledre, **quaeso**, ut … somnium quam simile somniauit!*
'But, upon my soul [Nixon] / But just think [Duckworth], Sceledrus, how similar was that dream she dreamt … !'

(76) Plaut. *Mil.* 1253: *ut, **quaeso**, amore perditast te misera!*
'For mercy's sake, sir [Nixon] / Look, I beg of you [Duckworth], how desperately in love with you the poor woman is!'

(iii) It is my impression that in sentences of the INTERROGATIVE type, modalizing particles have a more prominent role in bringing out nuances of intention and mood and perhaps consequently the degree of directivity involved. But it is a fact that also without these particles directive interrogatives of various pragmatic values are most common in Latin, with or without question words, with or without other urging indications (such as *cito*),[133] e.g.:

(77) Plaut. *Curc.* 311: *datin isti sellam, ubi adsidat, cito … ?*
'Give him [literally: 'Are you giving him … ?'] a chair to sit on, quickly … !'

(78) Petron. 57,1–2: *cum … usque ad lacrimas rideret, unus … excanduit … et 'quid rides' inquit 'ueruex'?*
'… became annoyed and said: Stop laughing [literally: 'Why do you laugh?'], you mutton-head!'

Nuancing particles in YES-NO QUESTIONS: The familiar *amabo/quaeso*, *sanun es?* may be interpreted as assertive 'you're crazy' but implies 'stop what you are doing/saying!'; likewise 'let me speak': *quaeso, enumquam hodie*

133. See the extensive, insightful chapter "interrogative directives" in Risselada's study of Latin directive expressions (1993: 187–231, also 90–95), with statistics (pp. 201, 213).

licebit mihi loqui? ('Please, will I ever get a chance today to speak?' Plaut. *Rud.* 1117). Of SENTENCE-PART QUESTIONS, grumbling questions with *quid?* 'why?', 'how come?' which imply 'stop ... !' are the most likely ones to host these particles: *quid somnias, amabo?* 'Wake up please!' (Plaut. *Rud.* 343), *quid mihi molestus es, obsecro?* 'Please stop nagging!' (Plaut. *Poen.* 335). Somewhat less so *cur*, *quare*, *quamobrem*, and *quapropter* questions.[134] Other directive sentence-part questions with particles are rarer; often the directive force is made explicit by an imperatival verbum dicendi et sim. (*dic*, *memora, fac*, ... : "metadirectives" Risselada 1993: 258–278): *dic ubi ea nunc est, obsecro* 'Tell me where she is now, for heaven's sake!' (Plaut. *Bacch.* 203). To just what extent such explicit expressions can replace modal particles cannot be ascertained here, since Latin data on their co-occurrence on the one hand and mutual exclusion on the other are not available.
(iv) When placed in a sentence of the DECLARATIVE type, it is primarily the particle, and often it alone, that carries the directive illocutionary force:[135] in sentences conveying 'stop that (talking, flogging, etc.)!':

(79) Plaut. *Mil.* 1084: *iam iam sat, **amabo**st*; Plaut. *Asin.* 707: ***amabo**, Libane, iam sat est*; Plaut. *Mil.* 1406: *oiei, satis sum uerberatus, **obsecro***

also for the expression of requests of another kind: 'give me ... !', 'tell me ... !':

(80) Petron. 24,1: ***quaeso**, inquam, domina, certe embasicoetan iusseras dari.*
'Please, Madam, you had ordered for sure a nightcap[?] to be given to me!'

(81) Petron. 91,8: ***quaeso**, inquit, Encolpi, fidem memoriae tuae appello.*
'Please, Encolpius, he said, I am calling upon the honesty of your memory!'

and even in an elliptical sentence:

134. Examples given and discussed by Risselada (1993: 208–209).
135. Occasionally combined with the choice of lexemes (e.g. 'enough'), but only in environments where no "notio necessitatis" is involved.

(82) Cic. *Att.* 9,18,4: ***amabo te****, epistulam, et* πολιτικήν.
‘Please, a letter, a political one, at that!’

By defining the illocutionary value of these sentences, a value departing from the cardinal value of the declarative sentence type, *quaeso*, *amabo*, *obsecro* find themselves in complementarity with the verb forms that characterize the prototypically directive sentence type, viz. the imperatival one. As far as I can see, it is again particles that have it in them – at times alongside of other, lexical (Pinkster 1995: 263) and grammatical (Sawicki and Shalev 2002) features – to define a sentence otherwise in the shape of the declarative sentence type as exclamatory:

(83) Plaut. *Mil.* 1062: *eu ecastor* ***nimis uile****st* ***tandem****!*
‘Goodness gracious! That’s really very cheap!’ (trans. Duckworth)

(84) Ter. *Ad.* 620–621: *illa* ***exclamat****: ‘abi, abi iam, Aeschine, satis diu* ***dedisti*** *uerba, sat adhuc tua nos* ***frustratast*** *fides!’.*
‘She cried out: Go away, go away already, Aeschinus, enough of your lying, enough now of your broken promises!’

The fact that no modalizers occur in the accusatival (*(O) me miseram!*) and the infinitival (*tantamne esse in animo inscitiam!*) exclamative patterns may be interpreted as a complementary distribution of modal markers and syntactic pattern. It also demonstrates that these subtypes of sentences are not subject to modal nuancing.

5.3.2 Textual structure

(i) Particles are the most widespread and also the most transparent and conspicuous of the tools of textual organization. They are never quite overtaken by other tools, but a certain complementarity with text-structuring use of tenses is noticeable: the frequency of connectors has been known to diminish in authors who widely use interchange of tenses in order to mark episodes, settings, and asides.[136]

136. Thus Pliny in his letters (Rosén 1980: 48; cf. Pinkster 1995: 329).

(ii) Discourse markers, lexical repetition, and, less frequently, tense selection join forces with anaphoric pronouns in order to identify participants in the narration ("referent tracking") and to articulate the discourse, in particular narrative discourse, in this respect. The textual core of one particularly rich passage, Plin. *epist.* 7,27,8–10,[137] exemplifies this interlacing of phenomena:

(85) ***Initio*** ('at first') *silentium* – ***Dein*** ('afterwards') *concuti* – ***Ille*** ('he') *non tollere sed offirmare* – ***Tum*** ('then') *crebrescere* – *Respic**it**, uid**et** agnosc**it**que* ('he' [hist. pres.]) – *Sta**bat** innue**bat**que* ('it' [impf.]) – ***Hic contra*** *signific**at** et incumb**it*** ('he in turn' [+ hist. pres.]) – ***Illa*** *insona**bat*** ('it' [+ impf.]) – *Respic**it** nec toll**it** et sequi**tur*** ('he' [hist. pres.]) – ***Ibat illa*** ('it' [+ impf.]) – *Postquam deflexit deser**it*** ('it' [hist. pres.!]) – ***Desertus*** *pon**it*** ('he' [lexical repetition + hist. pres.]).

In this passage the task of noting the switches between the two participants, a philosopher and a ghost, and identifying them is – with one exception (*deserit*, the ghost) – carried out primarily by tense selection; this tool is in almost perfect complementary distribution with the others (exceptions: three instances overcharacterized by tense + pronoun, one by tense + lexical repetition).

(iii) Finite parenthetical clauses, addressee-oriented (*audin?*, *scin tu?*, etc.) and speaker-oriented (*scio*, *opinor*, *moneo*, . . .), whether they comprise just the verbs (of various semantics, in part performative) or also pronominal material (*crede mihi*, *tibi ego dico*), are known to modalize the proposition into

137. 'At first nothing but the general silence of night; then the clanking of iron and moving of chains. He did not look up nor lay down his pen, but steeled his mind and obstructed with it his ears. Then the noise gradually grew louder, came nearer, and was heard in the doorway, and then beyond the threshold. He looked round, saw and recognized the ghost described to him. It [Latin form not differentiated] stood and beckoned, as if summoning him. He in his turn made a sign with his hand to wait a little, and again bent over his notes and pen. It stood rattling its chains over his head as he wrote. He looked round again at it beckoning as before, and without further delay he picked up his lamp and followed. It moved slowly, as if weighed down with the chains, and when it turned off into the courtyard of the house it suddenly collapsed and left its companion alone. Having been left alone he picked some plants and leaves and marked the spot.' (Analysis in Rosén 1980: 43–46; for subsequent literature see Rosén 2002: 342).

which they are inserted, clarify intention and state of mind. The question of their co-occurrence or else complementarity with urging or mitigating directive particles is still unresearched.[138] Do these inserted "framing" expressions merely stand for what they lexically convey, or do they in addition mark transitions, shifts, and interactional "moves", and thus participate in organizing the discourse and elucidating the communicative situation just like discourse markers such as *nunc*? This is an outstanding question, and as a matter of fact, the issue of co-occurrence or mutual exclusion of these two types of expression in Latin has not been addressed.[139]

5.3.3 Information structure

5.3.3.1 Extrasentential relation: syntagmatics. Word order that results in either parallelism or chiastic ordering vis-à-vis an adjacent sentence creates antithesis between the two sentences and/or several of their respective constituents. These syntagmatics compensate to a great extent for the lack of adversative connectors (*sed*, etc.) or of discourse markers conveying topic switch and other rupture (*autem*, *contra*, etc.). The passage *Catil.* 1,3 (ex. (61) in Section 5.1.5.3) from Cicero's diction, normally rich in such particles, may serve as an illustration.

5.3.3.2 Intrasentential relation. Asymmetric coordination (epitaxis, see Section 5.1.5.5), which affects the information status of secondary sentence constituents, including adverbs that are adverbal, complements the strategy of splitting sentences that generates various types of cleft sentences (see Rosén 1989b).

Cleft sentences designed to highlight temporal adverbials (Early and Familiar Classical Latin):

138. While likewise not integrated in the sentence they do not – in contrast to *amabo*, *quaeso*, *sis* et sim. – exhibit marks of grammaticalization, or delexicalization: these verb forms admit, in varying degrees, further material into their clauses; cf. Section 1.1.3.

139. The question was raised for Greek parenthetical expressions and particles, apropos of their occasional co-occurrence, by Shalev (2001: 554–556).

(86) Plaut. *Merc*. 541: *illi … hau sane* ***diust, quom*** *dentes exciderunt*.
'It is certainly not a long time now, that his teeth fell out.'

Cleft sentences designed to highlight attitudinal sentence adverbs:[140]

(87) Cic. *Tusc*. 1,97: ***bene*** *mihi* ***euenire, quod*** *mittar ad mortem*
'… that it is fortunate for me to be sent to death'

(as against sentential *bene* and *melius* not highlighted in *bene uenisti* 'it is fortunate that you have come', 'welcome!'; *melius peribimus* Liv. 1,13,3 'we will better die'),

(88) Cic. *Att*. 9,10,4 [Atticus]: ***si*** *iste Italiam relinquet,* ***faciet*** *omnino* ***male***.
'It will be totally wrong for him to leave Italy.'

(as against sentential *male* not highlighted in *male reprehendunt* Cic. *Tusc*. 3,34 'It is wrong for them to blame' [Pinkster 1972: 59, 96–101]).

These patterns work only for attitudinal sentence adverbs. When the same adverbs occur as highlighted adverbal modifiers, it is in epitaxis that they occur:

(89) Plaut. *Truc*. 357: *uapulo hercle ego nunc,* ***atque adeo male***.
'By God, I am going to get it now and even terribly.'

The only not clearly adverbal adverbs that are likewise capable of being set apart by epitaxis are those evaluative-attitudinal adverbs that pass judgment on the correctness or justifiability of the activity depicted in the preceding statement: *…, et recte / iure* (*nec iniuriā*) */ merito* (*nec immerito*) '…, and quite right(ful)ly, too'.

Most intriguing is the question of admittance of particles into regular cleft sentences.[141] The answer is complex: elements (anaphoric pronouns and connectors) adjoining the split structures to the preceding context do occur, e.g.

140. Machtelt Bolkestein prefers to characterize the subordinate clause as factive rather than topical. In Cuzzolin's (1996) treatment, the adverbs in question are qualified as "factive", in the sense of presupposing the truth of the subordinate clause.

141. Sentence splitting is not overly current in Latin in the normal shape of cleft sentences; see B. Löfstedt (1966) for their most frequent types.

sed *quid est … quod* (‘**But** what is it that’) *uolutas …?* (Plaut. *Mil.* 195–196); *temperantiam … . temperantia est* ***enim*** *quae* (‘**For** it is temperance that’) … *monet* (Cic. *fin.* 1,47); *sed Deus hominem ad imaginem Dei fecit. Deus est* ***ergo*** *qui* (‘**Therefore** it is God who’) *fecit hominem ad imaginem Dei* (Novatian. *trin.* 97). However, affirming modalizers or focus markers that highlight the entire “vedette” (the rhematic non-subordinate constituent) or any part of it do NOT occur, as far as the evidence to date bears it out. Only subsidiarily, and with no regularity, are particles found to exercise their highlighting function together with resumptive pronouns in split structures of another kind, bringing into focus extraposed nominal themata that comprise restrictive adjuncts: *haec* ***quae possum, ea*** *mihi* ***profecto*** *… placent* (Plaut. *Most.* 841) (Section 1.1.4 above and Section 6 “Outlook”).

Wherever salience is to be marked of an element where Latin tends to refrain from cleavage or other splitting, particles step in. We find focusing particles, in particular *quidem*, marking – expecially in antithesis – topics that are grammatical subjects, in all varieties of Latin:

(90) Quint. *inst.* 10,1,93: *elegia quoque Graecos prouocamus. …* ***satura quidem*** *tota nostra est* (see above, Section 1.2.3, in (26)); Petron. 33,6–7: *accipimus nos cochlearia … ouaque … pertundimus.* ***ego quidem*** *paene proieci partem meam* (see above, Section 1.1.4, ex. (2)); Vulg. *gen.* 27,22: ***uox quidem*** *uox Iacob est, sed manus, manus sunt Esau.*

When an utterance is indivisible or when the focus is on a sentence part or word class for which Classical Latin has no recourse at all to split patterns, particles are the only transparent way of expressing its prominence. In antithetical position, a verbal lexeme can be set apart by a focus marker:

(91) Cic. *orat.* 210: *id nos fortasse non perfecimus,* ***conati quidem*** *saepissume sumus.*
‘We have perhaps not achieved it, but try, be sure, we often did.’

The validity of this complementary principle has also been established for a partial repertory of highlighted nominal complements and circumstantial indications.

Highlighted complements:

(92) Sall. *Catil.* 51,19–20: *de timore superuacaneum est disserere, … **de poena** possum **equidem** dicere id quod …*
'About the fear it serves no purpose to deliberate, … about the punishment in all events I am able to say what … '

Highlighted adverbs and adverbials:

(93) Plaut. *Truc*. 510: ***inter tot dies quidem** hercle iam aliquid actum oportuit.*
'By God, during so many days to be sure something should have already been achieved.'

(94) Plaut. *Cist*. 295–296: *Dixin ego istaec … ?* :: ***Modo quidem** hercle haec dixisti*.
'Did I say that … ? :: You damned well did say it just now.' (trans. Duckworth)

(95) Plaut. *Asin*. 741–742: ***Hac quidem** non uenit.* :: *Angiporto illac per hortum circum iit clam.*
'This way at any rate he did not come. :: He went around secretly that way, by the gate through the garden.'

cf. *hīc quidem* (Cic. *Phil*. 12,23, ex. (3) in Section 1.1.4 above)

(96) Fronto 5,53, p. 80.7–8 vdH^2: *utrum … an … incertus sum. **certe quidem** eiusdem dicta cuius illa facta.*
'Whether … or … I am not sure. Surely at any rate, these words are by the same man who did those deeds.'

(97) Aug. *civ*. 7,3: *si …, cur … ? si autem …, cur … ? **saltem certe** … ipsa Fortuna … praecipuum locum haberet.*
'If …, why … ? But if …, why … ? Certainly, at any rate, Fortune herself … would hold an outstanding place.'

No manner adverbs were found freely emphasized in this way, which points to a complementary distribution of particle usage and the split syntactic pattern of epitaxis.

Especially useful, filling in for non-viable clefting and epitactic branching-off patterns, are particles for highlighting predicative nominals and adnominal adjuncts:

(98) Plaut. *Cas*. 416: *Mea ⟨haec⟩ est.* :: ***Mala crux*** *east* ***quidem***. 'She's mine. :: She's a torment, that's what she is' (trans. Solodow 1978: 88; cf. Section 1.1.4, ex. (4)); Plaut. *Poen*. 1344–1349: *Hasce aio … esse filias ambas meas … .* :: ***Meae quidem*** *profecto non sunt.* 'I declare that these … are both my daughters … :: They are certainly not mine.'

Highlighted by particles we see adjectives not represented in the epitaxis pattern (e.g. pronominals as in Plaut. *Amph*. 736, Cic. *fin*. 3,12; *omnis* in Plaut. *Capt*. 119, *Mil*. 1264; *certus* in Cic. *fam*. 9,8,2) and adjuncts in forms with which epitaxis is patently awkward (e.g. the adnominal genitive):

(99) Plaut. *Amph*. 736: *Vera dico.* :: *Non de* ***hac quidem*** *hercle re. de aliis nescio*. 'I am speaking the truth. :: Not about this, at any rate. About the rest I know not'; Cic. *fam*. 9,8,2: *aliquo, si non bono, at* ***saltem certo*** *statu ciuitatis* 'in a political situation which is perhaps not propitious, but at any rate stable'; Quint. *inst.* 2,15,20: *circa* ***ciuiles demum*** *quaestiones oratorem … uersari* 'that an orator deals with political questions only'; Quint. *inst.* 7,10,16: *neque enim* ***⟨p⟩artium*** *est* ***demum*** *dispositio, sed …* 'for the arrangement is not merely of the parts, but … '

One encounters here the most common focus markers, the markers of different types of exclusivity *quidem*, *demum*, *saltem*. But most importantly, in highlighting adjuncts, each tool is essentially allotted to a different kind of focus: the particles – to foci denoting exclusivity ('just', 'precisely'), epitaxis – on top of providing additional rhemes – to fine-tuning ('to be exact') and expanding ('also', 'even') foci.

Syntactic splitting mechanisms in Latin are considerably variegated, serving to yield salience to certain entities – but not to all; not to the lexematic value of a verb, in a limited way to secondary sentence parts, only partly to topics. Where syntactic mechanisms are deficient or inapplicable, particles are used as focusing devices. Here, in the area of structuring one's message,

the contribution of particles to the overall linguistic effort and the distributed functioning best come to light.

6. Outlook

The preceding deliberations have left several questions of detail unanswered: relative weight of each class of particles within the totality of this *Wortart* at subsequent stages of the language; relative proportions of sets of particles according to their sources and ways of coming into being; more data on individual prima facie pleonastic combinations; Late Latin data on modalizers, whether existing ones undergo change in essence and frequency or new ones come up as the result of the partial collapse and shifts in the system of verbal mood, e.g. in consecutive clauses, in requests, analogous to what one can observe for Latin as compared to, say, Greek. In addition, issues which traditionally inhibit work on particles as well as questions of principle, which need to be raised with regard to the contribution of particles to cohesion and to sentential and sentence-part modification, remain unresolved, yet cannot be ignored: identifiability of Ø vis-à-vis explicit connectors and a better definition of its function in Latin, finding more environments (beyond the three mentioned, Section 5.1.5.3) of obligatory asyndesis and probing into the diagnostic power of asyndesis in classifying connectors and adverbs; more about admittance or exclusion of specific items from the various speech modes (direct, reported, and in between); the relationship of finite "framing" expressions in represented speech to particles, generally and individually, and their co-occurrence; a more effective definition of discourse markers, especially those of narrative; the extent of dependency – and impact – marked focus has on extra-sentential context; a tighter definition of modalizers and also of the link in Latin between modalization and focusing: is the enhanced truth-value of a proposition ('indeed') with one of its constituents underscored by particle (e.g. resumptive pronoun by *profecto*) the result of focussing that constituent or is it the outcome of a directly modalizing mark? And, more fundamentally, what measure of semanticism divides non-particle usage from particle usage of the same word and what are the (in)compatibilities – different for each class – that warrant this distinction; with respect to collocations, exclusions, and sharing of jobs: more about co-

occurrence of interjections and modalizers, interjections and focus markers, both generally and with respect to individual items; the same about grammaticalized and non-grammaticalized parenthetical ("framing") expressions; determining (also diachronically) which, if any, of the collocating elements, such as tense and particle, pronoun and particle, is the conditioning element; fine-tuning of complementarities posited, as well as uncovering further ways by which particles and other tools of cohesion and sentential modification make up for and balance each other. Future research should come up with better-founded answers to these outstanding questions. While here and there distinctions may indeed be fluid, we must bear in mind that the "somewhat irregular manner" (ἀτακτοτέρως πως) or "negligence" seemingly advocated by Demetrius (cited at the outset of our presentation) lies in the eye of the beholder; it remains our task to disentangle these elusive elements from one another, to uncover their latent τάξις and to assign each to its correct place on the axes of meaning and function.

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M. Esperanza Torrego

Coordination

1. Introduction

This chapter deals with coordination between sentences and between linguistic units smaller than sentences in Latin. It does not deal with particles that link textual units larger than sentences (discourse units), although Latin grammars usually include them among coordinators. The criteria that differentiate coordinators and discourse connectors can be found in Pinkster (1990: 11–12). Latin coordination is exhaustively described in grammars (cf. Kühner & Stegmann [1912–1914] 1976 II 2: 3–112; Hofmann & Szantyr 1965: 469–484, 486–88, 498–504) and partially in *ThLL* (*s.vv. aut, atque, et, magis*). I take these as our starting point.

The (synchronic) functional interpretation is based on Pinkster (1990) (see also Pinkster 1972, 1995), except for adversative coordination, which is not considered in the 1990 article.

2. Theoretical preliminaries

In its most general formulation, coordination can be described as in Haspelmath (2004: 34): "The term coordination refers to syntactic constructions in which two or more units of the same type are combined into a larger unit and still have the same semantic relations with other surrounding elements".

Two main approaches to coordination can be found in the linguistic literature: the first one treats coordination as a case of sentence reduction, and the second one considers it as a recursion device. Arguments against the sentence reduction approach can be found, for example, in Mallinson and Blake (1981: 7ff.) or in Pinkster (1990: 8–9). In this chapter, I assume that coordination is a way of expanding a constituent or an expression; that is, I consider it a re-

cursion device. This expansion can affect nominals,[1] adjectives, predicates, clauses, or sentences.[2]

Across languages, coordination presents a wide range of formal and semantic types. Every language has the possibility of coordinating linguistic units, but the kind of linguistic units (sentences, sentence constituents, or elements smaller than a constituent, e.g., prepositions, determiners, etc.) that may be coordinated, as well as the devices they use for coordinating and the degree of grammaticalization, differ (see Mallinson and Blake 1981: 194–207; Mithun 1988). Thus, for example, some languages coordinate by means of simple juxtaposition, whereas others have grammatical markers.

In general, it can be stated that Latin coordination is highly grammaticalized. There is, however, a residual possibility of coordination by juxtaposition. One characteristic of Latin is that all coordinators can connect all sorts of linguistic units (nominals, adverbs, predicates, and sentences; prepositions and other morphemes cannot be coordinated) configuring the same coordination patterns. Among the coordination devices, some have been inherited from Indo-European, and others are the result of more recent grammaticalization processes.

3. Types of coordination

The members of a coordinated series can relate semantically to each other in different ways. As is well known, languages like Latin have three semantic types of coordination, namely, copulative (additive coordination), disjunctive (alternative coordination), and adversative (corrective coordination). These relationships can be simply deduced from the lexical content of the elements conjoined by juxtaposition or overtly expressed by different coordinative de-

1. In a functional approach, prepositions and cases are seen as different ways of marking nominal functions and, therefore, it is not necessary to give them a separate account; the same holds true for adverbs. I call them all “nominals” in this chapter.
2. Larger parts of communication, mainly discourse, can also be linked by grammatical means formally identical to coordinators. However, linking discourse parts involves a different kind of relationship that requires a treatment of the phenomenon together with connective particles. I do not treat such relationships in this chapter. Cf. Rosén (this vol.).

vices. In examples (1)–(3), (1a), (2a), and (3a) the first case shows a coordination with a coordinator and the second is a case of simple juxtaposition:

(1) a. Caes. *Gall.* 1,1,3: a cultu atque humanitate *prouinciae longissime absunt*
'they (the Belgae) are far away from the province from a point of view of culture and civilization'

b. Caes. *Gall.* 1,1,2: *hi omnes* lingua, institutis, legibus *inter se differunt*
'all of them differ from each other in language, institutions, laws'

(2) a. Caes. *Gall.* 1,1,4: *cum* aut *suis finibus eos prohibent,* aut *ipsi in eorum finibus bellum gerunt*
'either they (the Belgae) keep them away from their own borders or they fight on the borders of the others'

b. Sen. *epist.* 117,4: *uelint nolint*
'they may or may not want' (cf. example (23))

(3) a. Plaut. *Capt.* 241: *non ego erus tibi,* sed *seruos sum*
'I am not your master, but your servant'

b. Caes. *Gall.* 1,18,1: *celeriter concilium dimittit, Liscum retinet*
'he speedily dismissed the meeting (and/but) he kept Liscus back'

Mainly in the coordination of predicates, under a copulative or disjunctive coordinator, it is sometimes possible to find a different kind of semantic relationship. Thus, for instance, in a disjunctive coordination, as in (4), there is a negative condition; in copulative coordination it can be a causal relationship, as in (5), or an adversative relation, as in (6):

(4) a. Plaut. *Aul.* 458–459: *cenam coque* / aut *abi in malum cruciatum* (= *abi in malum cruciatum* nisi *coquis cenam*)
'get dinner or else go to hell'

b. Plaut. *Rud.* 1162: *placide*, aut *ite in malam crucem (ite in malam crucem* nisi *placide (sitis)*)
'go there easy or else go hang'

(5) a. Plaut. *Persa* 820: *tibi male uolt male*que *faciet* (*male faciet* quia *tibi male uolt*)
'he who wishes you evil and will do evil'

b. Plaut. *Rud.* 1199–1201: *eum arcessi uolo / iussi*que *exire / huc seruom eius* (*iussi exire …* quia *eum arcessi uolo*)
'I want to have him summoned and I've ordered his slave to come out'

(6) Plaut. *Asin.* 161: *tu me⟨d⟩ ut meritus sum non tractas*que *eicis domo* (*tu me … non tractas,* sed *eicis domo*)
'you do not treat me as I deserve and you throw me out of the house'

Coordinated sentences such as those illustrated in (4)–(6) are called pseudo-coordinations by some scholars. The added value apparently displayed by general coordinators does not belong to the content of the coordinators, but has to do with human knowledge of the world and the sequential content of the predications involved (Escandell 1996; Jiménez Juliá 1995). This phenomenon also takes place in Romance languages under certain conditions and perhaps has to do with the temporal relationship between the predicates in the coordinated series and with that between the main clause and the subordinate clause.[3]

In Romance languages the three types of coordination persist, although the possibilities of coordinating by means of simple juxtaposition have been drastically reduced.

4. Syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic conditions of coordination

4.1 Overview

Coordination is regulated by a number of conditions which differ according to whether the coordination is copulative, disjunctive, or adversative (cf. Dik 1968: 281–295). Generally speaking, the most important restrictions come from syntax: the members of a coordination set must be codified in the same structural ranking (Stassen 2001: 1105); that is, they should be at the same level of hierarchy and fulfill the same semantic role (for nouns, prepositional phrases, adverbs, and embedded predications, Dik 1968: 27–29); they must

3. For Spanish, see Camacho (1999: 2636); for Rumanian, see Mallinson (1986: 125–126).

share some categories (for predicates); or should display the same communicative function (for sentences).

As for semantics, the referential content of the members of a coordination set can be relevant in some respects. Coordination can be sensitive to the degree of conceptual proximity of the coordinated elements. For example, it is often the case among languages that juxtaposition is only possible between pairs of conventionalized concepts ('boys and girls', 'bows and arrows', etc.) (Mithun 1988: 331–336; Stassen 2001: 1106), whereas separated conceptual units must coordinate by means of either an intonation break or a formal marker.

Finally, specific pragmatic situations can also have some effect on the coordination possibilities; so, for instance, coordination of semantically different *wh*-questions is possible because all of them share the pragmatic function of predication focus (*just tell me* when and why *you took the car*). Focus refers to a specific constituent promoted to a position of particular informational salience in one way or another (cf. Drubig and Schaffar 2001: 1079). For coordination between predicates with different tense and mood, see below.[4]

4.2 Latin

4.2.1 Conditions for coordinating nominals

The conditions for coordinating nominals in Latin are based on syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic-stylistic parameters and apparently they did not change over time, given that they persist in Romance.

For nouns, the sole requirement for coordination is the identity of semantic function at the same hierarchical level (Pinkster 1990). Thus, coordination of constituents with different internal structure or belonging to different syntactic categories is well attested: names, prepositional phrases, adverbs, and

4. See Pinkster (1972: 108–133, 1990). Pinkster's examples show that categorial identity for the word classes is not necessary either, although in some specific cases it seems to be required (as in juxtaposition and in series coordinated by *-que*).

subordinate clauses can appear in coordination if they fulfill the same semantic role. In (7)–(9) there are some examples of this phenomenon: in (7) an adverb and a subordinate clause, both being Manner adjuncts, are coordinated; in (8) there is a *de* + abl. gerundive and *ut* + subj., different forms of expressing a virtual prospective event; in (9) there is an ablative absolute and a final clause expressing Cause-Purpose:

(7) Plaut. *Amph.* 973: recte *loquere* **et** *proinde* ... ut uxorem decet
'speak correctly and in a way fitting for a wife'

(8) Tac. *ann.* 4,9: *ad uana* **et** *totiens inrisa reuolutus*, de reddenda re publica ut**que** consules seu quis alius regimen susciperent
'reverting to those vain and oft-derided themes, namely the restoration of the republic and his wish that the consuls or others would take the reins of government'

(9) Liv. 2,27,1: *cum Appius* et insita superbia animo et ut collegae uanam faceret fidem
'when Appius, partly out of native arrogance, partly to discredit his colleague'

It must be remarked that in every case the coordinated elements are also syntactically alike: in (7) and (9) they are adjuncts, in (8) they are arguments (of an understood verb of speaking).

As for adjectives, the possibilities of coordination with each other and with terms of other categories depend on semantic parameters. Actually, it has been shown that adjectives are organized in semantic classes (Risselada 1984). Instances of coordination are found mainly among members of the same class (as in (10)), whereas different semantic classes yield hierarchically organized series (cf. (11)):

(10) Cic. *Manil.* 62: *duo consules* clarissimi ... fortissimique
'two very important and very brave consuls'

(11) Catull. 1,1: lepidum nouum *libellum* (= [lepidum [nouum libellum]])
'a funny new little book'

In a similar way, there must be a semantic affinity between the adjective and the other element to allow coordination. This is the case, for example, in (12)

where an adjective and a genitive of a pronoun, both expressing possession, are coordinated. In (13) the attribution of two qualities to the subject is expressed by an adjective, a prepositional phrase, and so on:

(12) Cic. *Verr.* 1,157: *non enim me* tua *solum* **et** iudicum *auctoritas, sed etiam anulus aureus scribae tui deterret*
'I am deterred from it not merely by respect for your character and that of the count, but by your scribe's golden ring'

(13) Plaut. *Aul.* 337: stultu's, **et** sine gratia *est*
'you are stupid and graceless'

Besides syntactic and semantic parameters, in the corpus of Latin texts other factors are important for coordination. On the one hand, it is well known that coordination between members with different semantic functions is possible when they share their pragmatic status, previously noted for *wh*-questions, as in example (14):

(14) Cic. *div. in Caec.* 27: quo tempore **aut** qua in re ... *ceteris specimen aliquod dedisti ... ?*
'on what occasion or on which account have you given a good example to the others?'

The semantic roles Time and Circumstance are separately grammaticalized in Latin (Pinkster 1995: 37). Nevertheless, coordinations like (14) are possible because both members share the pragmatic function of Focus.

Finally, the Latin literary corpus often shows apparently "odd" instances of coordination. Those cases are usually described under the label *variatio*.[5] Most of them can be explained on the basis of the normal semantic and syntactic constraints under special pragmatic or stylistic conditions. This is the case, for example, of the frequent instances of coordination between a predicative and a bare case or prepositional phrase, as in (15):

5. Longrée (1998) discusses the functionality of some awkward coordinations by Tacitus. In my opinion a common semantic base of such coordinations, in the sense of Dik (1968), can always be found.

(15) Tac. *ann.* 2,57: *(Piso) qui iussus partem legionum* ipse aut per filium *in Armeniam ducere utrumque neglexerat*
'(Piso), who when ordered to lead part of the legions into Armenia either by himself or through his son, had ignored both alternatives'

Cases like (15) can be explained because predicatives also fulfill a semantic role within the sentence.

In general terms, juxtaposition follows the same requirements as coordination through connectors. However, there is a difference: juxtaposition needs not only functional identity, but also the same categorial configuration between the members of the set. Since in a juxtaposed set there is no specific formal link, the members must be closer in all respects. Because of that, juxtaposed sets always belong to the same class (nouns, adjectives, adverbs, verbs with the same tense and modality, etc.; cf. Kühner & Stegmann [1912–1914] 1976: II 153).

4.2.2 Conditions for coordinating predicates

Coordination of predicates is said to require identity of tense and/or aspect and illocutionary force (Pinkster 1990). In general, throughout the history of the Latin language, two coordinated verbs share all those categories. However, at least the constraint of tense must be reconsidered, taking into account the many instances in which two different tenses appear in coordination (see Hofmann & Szantyr 1965: 815–816; Haverling, this work, vol. 2),[6] as in examples (16)–(19):

(16) Verg. *Aen.* 2,1: conticuere *omnes intenti**que** ora* tenebant
'they all became silent and held their gaze upon him'

(17) Plaut. *Asin.* 674–675: *nimis bella* es *atque amabilis*: **et** *si hoc meum esset*, … / *numquam me* orares *quin darem*
'you are surely pretty and adorable: and if this (sc. money) belonged to me, you could never ask me for anything that I wouldn't give you'

6. Camacho (1999: 2659) offers a discussion of the conditions in Spanish. They seem very similar to the Latin ones.

(18) Plaut. *Men.* 1092: *tu me* admonuisti *recte* **et** habeo *gratiam*
'you have given me good advice and I thank you'

(19) Plaut. *Amph.* 17: *quius iussu* uenio et *quam ob rem* uenerim *dicam*
'now I will say who told me to come and why I came'

Pinkster (1990) states that predicates in coordination have to share the time of reference. Examples (16)–(19) confirm this proposal: in (16) perfect and imperfect refer to the narration time,[7] (17)–(19) to the speaker's time.

4.2.3 Conditions for coordinating sentences

Sentence coordination is also constrained by particular requirements. In principle, two coordinated sentences share illocutionary force and their predicates share modality. A prototypical example is offered in (20):

(20) Caes. *Gall.* 2,33,3–4: *celeriter … eo concursum est, pugnatumque ab hostibus ita acriter est ut …*
'quickly they went there, and the enemies fought so strongly that … '

However, Latin is one of those languages which allow sentence coordination with different mood and illocutionary force. Examples like (21) illustrate the phenomenon:

(21) a. Cato *agr.* 6,3: *ulmos* serito … et *materia* … parata erit
'plant elms and there will be timber available'
b. Sen. *contr.* 1,7,4: nega *tuam esse epistulam* et habes *argumentum*
'deny that the letter is yours and you will have an issue'

The coordination of an imperative sentence (*serito* 'plant', *nega* 'deny') and an assertive one in future tense (*parata erit* 'there will be', *habes* 'you will have') is apparently an exception to the required condition of sharing modality and illocutionary force. As a matter of fact, this kind of coordination belongs to the more general property, shared by Indo-European languages

7. I consider imperfect and perfect to be different in aspect (imperfective vs. perfective) but not in reference time (arguments are given in Torrego [1994] against Pinkster [1983]).

(Frajzyngier 1996), of coordinating sentences in temporal sequence in order to express "added values". In fact, the added values make them functionally equivalent to subordinate sentences.[8] Thus, both sentences can be read as conditional sentences ((21a) *si ulmos seris, materia parata est*; (21b) *si negas tuam esse epistulam, habes argumentum*) or as result sentences ((21a) *ulmos serito (ita) ut materia parata sit*; (21b) *nega tuam esse epistulam ut habeas argumentum*).

To summarize, it can be said that the conditions required by coordination in Latin all throughout its history are basically the same up to and including the Romance languages.

5. Markers of coordination

As was mentioned in Section 2, coordination can be marked simply through the juxtaposition of elements or by connectors. In the following sections, the possibilities of coordination for nominals, predicates, and sentences in Latin are described from the point of view of coordinators and from the patterns of coordination. First, I describe coordination by means of juxtaposition and afterward, coordination by means of coordinators.

5.1 Juxtaposition

Juxtaposition is used for nominals, predicates, and sentences throughout the history of Latin, but it is an almost marginal device from the first texts (Kühner & Stegmann [1912–1914] 1976: II 148ff.; Hofmann & Szantyr 1965: 470ff., Rubio 1976: 175; Touratier 1994: 508). Two types of juxtaposed sets can be found in Latin: residual and formularized expressions, and instances where they are used as a marked form of coordination with stylistic intention. Examples of the first type are those of (22) and (23). They are probably

8. This kind of coordination has been treated as "pseudo-coordination" in Mallinson and Blake (1981: 192). See also Talmy (1978). In the *Vulgate*, this kind of pseudo-coordination is often found following the coordination pattern in Hebrew (Plater and White [1926] 1997: 132).

remnants of an old type of coordination mainly used for conceptually close nominals (synonyms, in some way [Timpanaro 1988]) or predicates. Perhaps there was no intonation break between the two members.[9]

(22) a. Caes. *Gall.* 1,6,4: Pisone Gabinio consulibus
'with Piso and Gabinius as consuls'
b. Hirt. *Gall.* 8,20,1: plus minus *VIII milibus*
'more or less, eight thousand'

(23) a. Liv. 21,17,4: *latum inde ad populum* uellent iuberent *populo Carthaginiensi bellum indici*
'the question was brought to the people whether they wanted and ordered that war be declared against Carthaginians'
b. Cic. *ad Q. fr.* 3,6,4: uelit nolit *scire difficile est*
'it is difficult to know whether he wants it or he doesn't want it'

Examples of the continuously productive use of juxtaposition are given in (24). In this type of construction an intonation break is always supposed between the two members.

(24) a. Cic. *Att.* 14,13[a],2: *a Caesare petii ut Sex. Cloelium restitueret; impetraui*
'I petitioned Caesar for the return of Sex. Cloelius; I got my request'
b. Ter. *Eun.* 476: *tacent: satis laudant*
'they are silent: this is sufficient praise'
c. Cic. *nat. deor.* 3,88: *iudicium hoc omnium mortalium est, fortunam a deo petendam, a se ipso sumendam esse sapientiam*
'this is the judgment of all people, that fortune must be sought from god, (but) wisdom must be obtained by themselves'

9. See Mithun (1988: 332–335) for the conditions of such a type of juxtaposition and examples of languages in which it occurs.

Juxtaposed elements admit different semantic interpretations (Mithun 1988: 354–356). Since juxtaposition does not offer any formal indication of the interpretation of the semantic relationship between the members, the semantic content of the elements becomes crucial for recognizing the set as copulative, disjunctive, or adversative. The most frequent relationship displayed in Latin is the copulative one (examples (22a), (23a), (24a)), but disjunctives are also possible (examples (22b) and (23b)). Adversative readings are frequently present, as in (24c) (cf. Kühner & Stegmann [1912–1914] 1976: II 151, 528).

5.2 Coordination through connectors

5.2.1 Sources for connectors

For the most part, copulative coordination sources have been primarily described in typological approaches (Payne 1985; Mithun 1988; Stassen 2000, 2001). For copulative coordination, languages split up into two groups: 'AND'-languages and 'WITH'-languages. The 'AND'-languages develop their coordinators from adverbs or particles meaning 'also'; the 'WITH'-languages from comitative particles. Latin belongs to the first group (*et* < IE **eti* 'also'; *-que* < the root **k^{w}e-*, 'as also' (cf. Ernout & Meillet 1959: *s.vv.*; Walde 1965: *s.vv.*; Hofmann & Szantyr 1965: 473, 479).

Other sources for copulative coordinators that Latin and Romance display are temporal adverbs in a correlative distribution (*cum … tum*), correlative combinations of negation, adverbs, and particles (*non solum … sed etiam* type [Kühner & Stegmann [1912–1914] 1976: II 57–64] and modal-comparative patterns [Rumanian *şi*, coming from *sic* (= 'so'); Spanish '*tanto–como*' patterns [cf. Franchini 1986]). These devices are marked and their degree of grammaticalization is lower.

Disjunctive coordinators in Indo-European languages come mainly from adverbs or particles meaning 'on the other hand' (Lat. *aut* (*autem*)). Lat. *-ue* is an enclitic particle with a weak disjunctive value, which also appears as a part of other conjunctions (Lat. *siue / seu* < *si-ue, neue / neu* < *ne-ue*); some of these conjunctions followed a grammaticalization process yielding new disjunctive markers (so, for instance, *siue / seu.* Cf. below). Other sources for disjunctive coordinators are forms of verbs like 'wish' (Lat. *uel*, imperative of

uelle, ‘wish’) or ‘to be’ (Sp. *sea-sea*, Fr. *soit-soit*) and conditional conjunction (cf. Lat. *si-ue*).[10]

Adversative connectors in many languages develop from separative adverbs. Hypothetical conjunctions are usually the source for adversative coordinators in those languages which have a different strategy for *not X but Z* type vs. *X but Z* type. Thus, for instance, Spanish (*no X* ***sino*** *Z* vs. *X* ***pero*** *Z*), Hungarian *(nem X* ***hanem*** *Z* vs. *X* ***de*** *Z*), Tagalog (*hindi X* ***kundi*** *Z* vs. *X pero Z*) (cf. Payne 1985: 16). In Latin, the same connector covers both distributions, the positive one and the negative one (*non X sed Z, X sed* Z (*sed* < **se-d* [cf. Rosén, this vol.]).

5.2.2 Position of connectors

A connector can precede or follow the member it coordinates. According to this parameter, languages split up into prepositive languages and postpositive languages. Latin has mainly prepositive connectors (*et*, *atque*, *uel*, etc.), but two enclitic postpositive connectors persist as well: copulative *-que* and disjunctive *-ue*. The main change of Latin throughout its history in this respect is the loss of postpositive connectors at a relatively early period. The disappearance of postpositive coordinators is connected to the loss of all enclitic particles undergone by Latin (Janson 1979).

According to Stassen (2000, 2001), this change fits in with other typological characteristics. Postpositive coordinators (maybe enclitic particles in general) are typical of verb-final languages, and prepositive ones are typical of verb-medial and verb-initial languages. Latin changed from a dominantly SOV language into a dominantly SVO language (Bauer, this vol.), and the loss of postpositive coordinators is in accordance with the word order change.

Structurally, the coordinator can be attached to the first member of the coordinated set ([A &] [B] / [& A] [B]) or to the second (A [& B] / [A] [B &]) (Haspelmath 2004: 6). The Latin coordinator is attached to the second member, which can be deduced from cases occurring in dialogues, where a

10. Less grammaticalized devices yielding coordinated disjunctive series are pronominal distributive sequences like *alius* … *alius* ‘the one … the other’, temporal adverbs (*tum* … *tum* ‘then … then’), local adverbs (*hinc* … *hinc* ‘from here … from here’), etc. (Kühner & Stegmann [1912–1914] 1976 II 2: 70–73).

coordination set is uttered by two different speakers; in such cases the coordinator is always attached to the second part of the exchange as in (25) and (26):[11]

(25) Plaut. *Bacch.* 78: *scio quid ago.* :: et pol *ego scio quid metuo*
'I know what I'm doing. :: And, by god, I know what I'm fearing'

(26) Plaut. *Bacch.* 222: *iam huc adueniet miles* – :: et *miles* quidem
'for a soldier will be coming here – :: Indeed? a soldier, too'

5.2.2.1 Postpositive connectors. Latin inherited two postpositive enclitic coordinators from Indo-European, the copulative *-que* and the disjunctive *-ue*. Both disappear in the course of history, although at different times. Disjunctive *-ue* is still attested in *Lex XII tabularum*[12] coordinating nouns (27a), adverbs (27b), and sentences (27c):

(27) a. *XII tab*. (Vlp. *tit.*11,14): *vti legassit super* pecunia tutelaue *suae rei, ita ius esto*
'what he (i.e., *pater familias*) has decided about his money or patrimony, must be law'

b. *XII tab*. (Gell. 20,1,49): *si* plus minusue *secuerunt, se fraude esto*
'if they cut more or less, they must be free from blame'

c. *XII tab*. (Vlp. *Dig.* 9,4,2,1): *si seruus furtum* faxit noxiamue *noxit*
'if the slave were to commit a robbery or cause damage'

11. There are cases in poetic texts where the coordinator is in anastrophe, like Hor. *sat.* 1,5,86: quattuor *hinc rapimur* uiginti **et** *milia raedis* (= *quattuor et uiginti*, 'from here, we are swept away 24 miles in carriages') and others like Hor. *sat.* 2,6,3–4 (auctius atque *di* meliu*s fecere* (= *auctius atque melius* 'the gods have done more and better for me'). Although cases like these could indicate an attachment of the coordinator to the first member (see the account by Haspelmath [2004: 6–10]), they are highly marked and not representative (see Ernout 1958: 190).

12. As is well known, the text of the *Lex XII tabularum* is only preserved by quotations in Latin authors. If we trust the literalness of transmitted testimonies (see an overview in Ruiz Castellanos [1991: 9–14]), the text of the *Lex,* containing a version of Roman laws written in the fifth century BCE, can be taken as a sample of the most ancient stage of Latin. For a global treatment of the *Lex XII tabularum*, see Humbert (2005).

However, in Plautus (second century BCE) *-ue* is already marginal: it occurs only fourteen times in very concrete contexts, such as Plaut. *Capt*. 995: *plus minusue* ‘more or less’ (cf. (27b)), or in more or less fossilized formulas. It disappears as a productive coordinator in the first century BCE (Hofmann & Szantyr 1965: 502–503; Janson 1979: 103).[13]

Copulative *-que* is the standard coordinator in ancient texts (cf. Kühner & Stegmann [1912–1914] 1976: II 10–11; Hofmann & Szantyr 1965: 473). In Cato, for instance, it is the most frequent copulative marker (cf. Hofmann & Szantyr 1965: 475).

Originally, *-que* and *-ue* linked names and predicates with the property of conceptual closeness (*domi duellique* ‘in war and in peace’), *peto quaesoque* (‘I ask and I beg’) (cf. Hofmann & Szantyr 1965: 473). Its grammaticalization process is the same as that of prepositives: from a focalizing adverb to a conjunction. The process is complete from the first texts. However, it is still possible to find examples where the ancient focalizer value is visible. This is the case in (28)–(29), two testimonies from an inscription dated to 159 BCE (Hofmann & Szantyr 1965: 474–475):

(28) *CIL* I^2 586,4–5: *ea senatus animum aduortit . . . ;* nosque *ea ita audiueramus*
‘the Senate paid attention to it; we also had heard about it’

(29) *CIL* I^2 586,12: *credimus; uosque animum uostrum inducere oportet*
‘we believe it; you also must put it into your head’

Although rarely, the postpositive *-que* can coordinate clauses as well, as in examples (30)–(31):

(30) Plaut. *Amph.* 677–678: *quam uir unam esse optumam diiudicat / quamque adeo ciues . . . rumiferant probam*
‘her husband judges that she is the best lady and the citizens publicly praise her virtue’

13. *-ue* is found already in Plautus as a part of *ne-ue,* a connector of substantive or final *ne*-clauses with very weak disjunctive value, what seems to indicate also a lack of productivity. See Plaut. *Merc.* 330–332: *hoc nunc mihi uiso opust, / huic persuadere quo modo potis siem / ut illam uendat* neue *det matri suae* ‘ I have to visit him now and persuade him, as far as I can, to sell her to me and not to give her as a gift to his mother’.

(31) Plaut. *Amph.* 745–746: *ex te audiui ut urbem* … / *expugnauisses regem*que … *tute occideris*
'I heard from you how you took that city and killed the king yourself'

5.2.2.2 Prepositive connectors in Latin. Prepositive copulative coordinators *et* and *atque/ac* are recognizable grammatical elements in the most ancient texts. The standard disjunctive ones are *aut* and *uel*. The conditional disjunctive conjunction *siue* is more recent; it follows a grammaticalization process from the disjunctive hypothetical series (*seu* … *siue* 'whether if … or if') to the simple disjunctive coordinator ('or'). The standard adversative coordinator is *sed*. *Magis* functions as an adversative coordinator as well and, partially, also *nisi*. In the following sections the characteristics of each series are presented.
(i) *Copulative coordinators*. Although *et* is totally grammaticalized from the beginning of Latin literature (in Plautus *et* is already more frequent than *-que*), its use as an adverb is preserved sporadically in all periods (often collocated with reinforcing adverbs like *etiam, quoque* 'also') (32):

(32) Verg. *Aen.* 2,49: *timeo Danaos* et *dona ferentis*
'I'm afraid of Greeks even if they are bringing gifts'

It is the most general coordinator and it can coordinate nominals (33), predicates (34), and sentences (35):

(33) Plaut. *Amph.* 39–40: *meruimus* / et ego et pater *de uobis* et *re publica*
'we deserve it, my father and I, from you and from your state'

(34) Plaut. *Poen.* 1147–1148: *tu* abduc *hosc⟨e⟩ intro* et *una nutricem simul* / iube *hanc abire*
'take these people inside and have the nurse here go with them'

(35) Cic. *ac*. 2,40: *alia uera sunt, alia falsa* et *quod falsum est, id percipi non potest*
'some things are true, others are false, and what is false cannot be perceived'

It also occurs in dialogues, coordinating members in sentences shared between two different speakers. In such contexts the collocation of some other

particle is frequent (*quidem* 'indeed', *pol* 'by Pollux', *etiam* 'also', etc.) (see (25) and (26) above).

The conjunction *atque* (< *ad* + *-que*) shows a less developed degree of grammaticalization; in almost all the cases the ancient value of a focalizing adverb can be recognized. The capacity of presenting a member in an emphatic (or oriented) way is the differentiating property of this coordinator. An early example is (36a), but more than three centuries later the same value is also clear (36b):

(36) a. Plaut. *Mil.* 189a: *os habet, linguam, perfidiam, malitiam* atque *audaciam*
'she is sassy, glib, and dishonest and also shrewd and bold'
b. Tac. *ann.* 4,26: . . . *regemque et socium* atque *amicum appellaret*
'. . . and he called him king, and ally, even friend'

Atque occurs also in dialogue, in sentences pronounced by different speakers, collocated with adverbs and particles (37):

(37) Plaut. *Poen.* 1243: *nil tecum ago* . . . :: Atque hercle *mecum agendumst*
'I'm not concerned with you :: By Hercules, you've got to be concerned with me'

A special case of *atque*[14] is the one where this conjunction is introducting the second term of an equative comparison with adjectives and adverbs like *aequus*, *aeque*, *adaeque*, etc. (see the complete list in Núñez [2002: 150]), as is illustrated in (38). Secondarily, *atque* introduces the second term of a comparison of majority (39) (Kühner & Stegmann [1912–1914] 1976, II 2: 6–7, 18–21):

(38) a. Plaut. *Truc.* 172: *longe* aliter *est amicus* atque *amator*
'a friend is very different from a lover' (= 'a friend and a lover are very different')

14. *Et* also appears in comparative structures as does *-que*, sporadically. Cf. Núñez (2002: 150), from whom examples (38)–(39) are taken.

b. Plaut. *Men.* 1099: *operam potestis ambo mihi dare* et *uobis* simul
'you can take care both of me and of yourselves at the same time'

(39) a. Plaut. *Merc.* 897: *amicior mihi nullus uiuit* atque *is est*
'there is no friend alive better than he'

b. Plaut. *Bacch.* 549: *quem esse amicum ratus sum* atque *ipsus sum mihi*
'I thought he was as much a friend to me as I am to myself'

According to Núñez (2002), in cases like (39) *atque* has followed a grammaticalization process comparable to that of *simul ac / atque*, from a coordinator, still recognizable in (38), to a comparison particle comparable to *quam* or *ut*.[15]

Written Latin maintains the three coordinators throughout its history. The most relevant property for differentiating them is the conceptual proximity of coordinated members: *-que* requires a high degree of conceptual proximity (it is the characteristic feature of *-que*). At the opposite pole, *atque* coordinates members without conceptual proximity, but with a pragmatic relation in which the second member has a special status with respect to the first, because the members of a set linked by *atque* cannot exchange position. Finally, *et* coordinates every kind of element, even members not expected to be conjoined (see Coseriu 1968; Rubio 1976).

The most important change of the copulative markers is the simplification of the system. In late texts, *et* is overwhelmingly the most frequently attested copulative marker. Thus, for instance, in *Itinerarium Egeriae* (fourth century CE)[16] the number of occurrences of *et* is 847; *-que* does not occur as a coordinator and *atque* has seven occurrences.[17] The only one which persists in all Romance languages is *et.* Only Rumanian has a form derived from *sic* (*şi*).

15. See Núñez (2002: 167–168) for an account of their development.
16. The data on the *Itinerarium Egeriae* come from Blackman and Betts (1989).
17. However, *-que* persists as a meaningless reinforcement in many words, mainly those related to the relative stem. As for *atque*, it occurs frequently as a discourse link, mainly in a collocation with *sic*: *ac sic*.

Şi is the result of a grammaticalization of *sic*, a reinforcement adverb often attached to *et*. See example (40):

(40) *Itin. Eger.* 20,3: *et iterata oratione* et sic *benedicens nos episcopus egressi sumus foras*
'and after praying again and after the benediction by the bishop, we went out'

This situation is preceded by a phase in which coordinators had lost their original values and they appear in pleonastic collocations (A *et* B*que (suis et posterisque), aut uel, uel aut* (see Löfstedt [1959] 1980: 251–252). As for the position of coordinators, the postpositive coordinator is a simple reinforcing suffix without functional value (on -*que*, see Löfstedt 1950: 36–46). *Atque* does not survive. Its only lexicalized trace is found in Italian, in the series of numbers (*diciassette* '17', the number that follows 15 and 16 in the series, *vs. dieci e sette*, which means 10+7), and in verbal periphrasis formed by a coordination of predicates (as OIt. *va a dormi* 'go *and* sleep'). Cf. Cellini: *vatti a riposa* (Meyer-Lübke 1923: III 615).
(ii) *Disjunctive coordinators*. *Aut* (cf. *autem* 'on the other hand') is the most general disjunctive connector. It replaces -*ue* even in the first written texts. An illustration is example (41a–b) from Ennius, where *aut* is already more frequent than -*ue*:

(41) a. Enn. *ann.* 501: *Septingenti sunt paulo plus* aut *minus, anni* ...
'seven hundred years it is, a little more or less ...'
b. Enn. *ann.* 398: aut *intra muros* aut *extra praecipe casu*
'in headlong fall inside or outside the walls'

There are also more recent formations. In the most ancient data, *uel* still performs a function in second-person contexts, which betrays its origin (from *uelle* 'to want'; cf. Hofmann & Szantyr 1965: 500; Kühner & Stegmann [1912–1914] 1976 II 2: 107–111). See (42); it works, however, even in purely disjunctive contexts (43):

(42) Enn. *frg. var.* 4: uel *tu dictator* uel *equorum equitumque magister esto* uel *consul*
'you may be a dictator, or a horse master or a riding master or a consul'

(43) Enn. *frg. var.* 95: *quos ad eum comprehendendum* uel *necandum Iupiter miserat*
'Jupiter had sent them in order to capture or to kill him'

The disjunctive coordinator *siue/seu* comes from the conditional *si* + *-ue* (disjunctive postposed coordinator). The grammaticalization process of *siue/seu* can be followed from within Latin. In Plautus *siue* is still used as a conditional conjunction plus the disjunctive *-ue*, as in (44a).[18] As a disjunctive, it is used by poets from Lucretius on. In prose, it starts with the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* and it is more often used from Livy onwards, where *siue* is found conjoining sentence constituents without any trace of conditional expression. The examples in (44) illustrate the contrast between a hypothetical use of *siue* (44a) and its use as a simple disjunctive coordinator (44b):

(44) a. Plaut. *Men.* 295: sei *tu Calindru's* seu *Coriendrus, perieris*
'no matter whether you are Calindrus or Coriendrus, you are going to die'
b. Liv. 4,2,7: seu *ex patribus* seu *ex plebe*
'either from the senators or from the plebeians'

Disjunctive *siue* and *uel* have very similar values (non-exclusive disjunction). In postclassical Latin both of them are used equally for the coordination of nominals, predicates, and sentences. See examples (45)–(47):

(45) Cic. *fin.* 3,53: *hoc, quod praepositum* uel *praecipuum nominamus*
'the thing we call the *praepositum* or the *praecipuum*'

(46) Cic. *epist.* 10,4,1: *habeo causas plurimas* uel *paternae necessitudinis* uel *meae a pueritia obseruantiae* uel *tui erga me mutui amoris*
'I have many reasons – your relations with my father, the respect I have paid you since childhood, your reciprocal affection toward me'

(47) Liv. 1,8,7: *Romulus centum creat senatores*, siue *quia is numerus satis erat*, siue *quia soli centum erant qui creari patres possent*

18. It is unlikely that Enn. *ann.* 467–468 (*tibi uita /* seu *mors mundo est* 'for you, there is life or death in the world') is an example of disjunctive *seu*. The example is a fragment where, possibly, a previous *si*-context is lacking.

'Romulus appointed a hundred senators, whether because this number seemed sufficient to him, or because there were only one hundred who could be designated Fathers'

It is to be noted that the entities coordinated by *uel* (45)–(46) and *siue* (47) are intended by the authors to be at the same level. In contrast, *aut* can coordinate members in which choice is obligatory (exclusive members) as in (48a), or not, as in (48b):

(48) a. Liv. 21,43,5: *hic uincendum* aut *moriendum ... est*
'we have to win or die'
b. Enn. [*trag*. 86]: *quid petam praesidi aut exequar*?
'what kind of remedy should I seek and follow?'

There is in Latin an interrogative particle, *an*, which is also used to conjoin the members of a disjunctive interrogative. It is a disjunctive coordinator conditioned by interrogative contexts. However, the particle use was expanded and some authors employ it as an alternative to *aut*. In (49) we give an example of *an* in an interrogative and in (50) in a general disjunction:

(49) Liv. 31,29,4: an *imitari ... Romanorum licentiam* – an *leuitatem dicam – mauoltis?*
'do you prefer to imitate Roman boldness or shall I call it inconsistency?'

(50) Cic. *epist.* 13,29,4: *non plus duobus* an *tribus mensibus*
'no more than two or three months'

In later authors (Ovid, first century CE, Tacitus, second century CE) *an* is found in disjunctive series with *siue* and *aut* (*siue ... an* / *aut ... an*, *siue ... an*). However, no Romance language has any vestige of it; as in the case of the other disjunctives, this marker was fully replaced by *aut*.

The system of disjunctive coordinators also underwent a simplification of forms, preceded by a weakening of their values (see (ii) above). Taking into account the results in Romance languages, *aut* should have been the standard spoken form. Actually, all Romance languages have disjunctive coordinators derived from *aut,* except for Rumanian, the only one which has *sau,* a form from *siue.* However, written documents do not show this evolution. In late

texts, *uel* is the most frequent disjunctive (Callebat 1968: 329–330): taking the text of the *Itinerarium Egeriae* as an example, *uel* is found 59 times and *aut* 37 (*siue* has only 9 occurences).
(iii) *Adversative coordinators*. The three types of adversative coordination presented in Payne (1985: 6–12) can be found in Latin. The semantic opposition ('you go but I stay') and the correction of expectations ('poor but happy') is found with nominals, predicates, and sentences, expressed by means of the coordinator *sed*. The preventive meaning ('I would go but John has the money') is exclusive to sentences, because it implies modal differences in predicates (Payne 1985: 8) and is expressed in Latin by means of *nisi*, an originally negative hypothetical conjunction.

The standard adversative coordinator *sed* is used to correct a first negative member (*non X … sed Y*) and also to correct a positive one (*X sed Y*). In Early Latin, an adversative expression is a grammaticalized relationship for predicates and sentences; there are also cases of adjectives and participles, but there are no clear cases of nouns. Ennius, for example, has seventeen occurrences of *sed*, fifteen with sentences and two with adjectives (cf. (51)); Cato's work contains nineteen occurrences and all of them are cases of coordinated sentences or coordinated reduced sentences (examples (54) and (55) below).

In Plautus adversative coordination of nominals is less frequent than coordination of sentences and it always corresponds to the *non X sed Y* type, seen in (51). From the Classical period onwards there are also adversative sets of nouns, although they are not frequent, corresponding to the *non X sed Y* type as seen in (52a)–(52c) and to the *X sed Y* type, as seen in (53):

(51) a. Enn. *ann*. 6,194: non *cauponantes bellum* sed *belligerantes*
'not dealing in war but waging war'
b. Enn. *ann*. 10,338: *ille uir haud magna cum re* sed *plenus fidei …*
'that man not rich, but with plenty of loyalty … '

(52) a. Plaut. *Bacch.* 138: non *paedagogum iam me*, sed *Lydum uocat*
'he no longer calls me "tutor", but merely Lydus'
b. Mart. 1,66,14: *aliena quisquis recitat et petit famam,* non *emere librum*, sed *silentium debet.*
'the one who recites someone's else poems and seeks fame, must not buy the book but silence'

c. Cic. *nat. deor.* 2,2: *est . . . philosophi . . . de . . . dis inmortalibus habere non errantem et uagam* sed . . . *stabilem certamque sententiam*
'a philosopher should possess not a shifting and unsettled concept of the immortal gods but a firm and definite one'

(53) Plin. *epist.* 1,10,9: *scribo plurimas*, sed *inlitteratissimas litteras*
'I write innumerable but quite unliterary letters'

When coordinating sentences *sed* is well attested from the time of Early Latin for both types, as shown in (54)–(55):

(54) Cato *agr*. 3,1: *aedificare diu cogitare oportet, conserere cogitare* non *oportet*, sed *facere oportet*
'one should think a long time about building, but planting is a thing not to be thought about but done'

(55) Cato *agr*. 157,3: *cancer ater, is olet et saniem spurcam mittit, albus purulentus est*, sed *fistulosus et subtus suppurat sub carne*
'the black ulcer has a foul odor and exudes putrid pus, the white is pussy but porous, and it oozes under the surface'

Sed is still alive in spoken language in the beginning of the Roman Empire (Hofmann & Szantyr 1965: 487). It is often attested in Petronius, as illustrated in (56):

(56) Petron. 46,5–6: nec *uno loco consistit . . .* sed *non uult laborare*. *Est et alter non quidem doctus*, sed *curiosus*
'he does not stop in one place either but he does not want to work. There is another one, not learned, but conscientious'

Besides the standard *sed*, *magis* occurs in spoken language from Catullus onward (Melander 1916). The instances of *magis* in written texts are not frequent, but it is the source of all standard adversative coordinators in Romance (Fr. *mais*, Sp. *mas*, It. *ma*). *Magis* 'more' is originally a comparative adverb which started to be used as a replacement of *potius* 'rather'. It was used as a focalizer with contrastive content, sometimes in conjunction with *sed* (*non ex iure manum consertum, sed* magis *ferro . . .* 'they go to engage in battle not

by law, but rather by the sword ...' Enn. *ann. frag.* 272). Its grammaticalization path starts as a particle introducing a main sentence with a corrective content (57); it develops into a coordinator of sentences expressing a semantic opposition (58). Finally, in later texts, it expresses a condition which the first member of the opposition should overcome in order to occcur (59):

(57) Varro *ling.* 6,34: *posterior, ut idem dicunt scriptores, ab diis inferis Februarius appellatus, quod his parentetur; ego* magis *arbitror Februarium a die februato, quod tum februatur populus*
'the latter, as the same writers say, was called *Februarius* ('February') from the *di inferi* ('Gods of the Lower World'), because at that time expiatory sacrifices are made to them; but I think that it was called February rather from the *dies februatus* ('Purification Day'), because then the people *februatur* ('are purified')'

(58) Catull. 68,30: *id Manli*, non *est turpe*, magis *miserum est*
'that, Manlius, is not so much shameful as sorrowful'

(59) Ven. Fort. *carm.* 1,2,20: *unde mori uoluit, mors* magis *ipsa fugit*
'thus he wanted to die, but death itself escaped'

The last important particle in the history of adversatives is *nisi*. *Nisi* is a negative restrictive conditional conjunction, coming from a collocation of a negative particle, *ni (<ne-i*), and a conditional *si*; it works only at the sentence level.[19] In this function, it is attested in ancient comedy and in the letters of Cicero (see Kühner & Stegmann [1912–1914] 1976 II 2: 415).[20] The following examples show a case of semantic opposition (60), and cases of preventive meaning (61)–(62). Finally, in (63) there is a case of *nisi* collocated with *etiam*, configuring a pattern similar to standard *non ... sed etiam*. This is probably the last step of its development as a coordinator.

(60) Plaut. *Rud.* 750–751: *nam huic alterae quae patria sit ... nescio*: / nisi *scio probiorem hanc esse quam te*
'now as for this other girl, I admit I don't know her birthplace: but I do know she's better than you are'

19. For a pragmatic approach to *nisi*, see Orlandini (2001: 152–192, sp. 178–184).
20. This kind of coordination only appears at the level of sentences, not of nominals or predicates.

(61) Plaut. *Epid.* 730–731: *inuitus do hanc ueniam tibi, /* nisi *necessitate cogar*
‘I am unwilling to pardon you for this, but circumstances compel me’

(62) Plin. *epist.* 2,12,6: *nam et festinanti et diligenti tabellario dedi*, nisi *quid impedimenti in uia passus est*
‘I gave (the letter) to a diligent and hurried courier; even though an accident has befallen him’

(63) Verec. *in cant.* 3,7: *nobis non sufficit nostra delicta portare*, nisi etiam *aliorum oneribus praegrauemur*
‘it is not enough for us to carry our own sins, but we carry the burdens of others too’

The origin of this grammaticalization is likely the conditional sentence expressing a break of an ongoing situation,[21] as in example (64):

(64) Tac. *ann.* 1,63,2: *trudebantur in paludem*, ni[22] *Caesar … legiones instruxisset*
‘they were being pushed towards swampy ground when Caesar had arranged the legions’

The only difference between (64) and (62) is the mood of the predicate in each member: in cases where *nisi* represents a conditional, the subordinate clause has a form of irreality; in the cases where *nisi* acts as a simple coordinator, the modal forms of both predicates coincide.

Nisi does not survive in Romance, but is similar to the same formation type of Spanish *sino*,[23] the adversative coordinator related to a negated first member (cf. Section 2.4).

21. For a complete characterization of these conditionals, see Torrego (1999).
22. *Ni* was an ancient negative particle without hypothetical value, which through collocation with conditional *si* became a functional equivalent of *nisi* from the first texts onwards (< *ne-i* [Ernout & Meillet 1959: *s.v.*]). Authors from the Imperial period used it as an archaism.
23. According to Corominas and Pascual (1983: *s.v. si*) adversative *sino* comes from a reduction of conditional sentences: *nadi non raste, / sinon dos peones solos* ‘nobody should stay but two infantrymen’, *Cid:* 685–686 < *(nadi) si non son dos …*

The changes affecting the system of adversative coordination started early. On the one hand, the meaning of the unmarked form *sed* became weaker and in spoken language it had already disappeared by imperial times. In Apuleius (*Metamorphoses*, second century CE), for example, it is attested in combination with *et* without adversative meaning (Callebat 1968: 326), as shown in example (65):

(65) Apul. *met.* 7,7: *milites suosque famulos nominatim*, sed et *omnem uiciniam … conuocans*
'calling the soldiers and his servants by their name, and also the whole neighborhood'

On the other hand, *sed* was replaced by the marked adverb *magis* in all areas of the empire.[24] As shown above, examples of *magis* can be found from Catullus onwards. *Nisi* increased its frequency in postclassical Latin (cf. Callebat 1968: 353; Hofmann & Szantyr 1965: 668–669; Kühner & Stegmann [1912–1914] 1976 II 2: 413–417; Löfstedt 1950: 29–32).

The most important change in adversative expressions takes place in Spanish. In Spanish, although a form derived from *magis* exists, adversative coordination splits into two forms: *sino*, related to a negative first member (*no … sino*) and *pero* (< *per hoc*),[25] related to a positive first member. This change, however, took place much later (Meyer-Lübke 1923 III: 621, 627; Corominas and Pascual 1983: *s.v.*).

5.3 Coordination patterns

The number of members that a coordination admits depends, on the one hand, on the semantics of the coordinator and, on the other, on the form of the coordination pattern. Usually copulative and disjunctive coordination is open to any number of members; adversative coordination, however, only admits two. Correlative patterns are also obligatory binary series. Regarding the number

24. In Rumanian *mai* is marginal. It seems to have been replaced by *dar* / *iar* / *insa.*
25. Spanish *pero,* replacing the ancient *mas* (< *magis*) is a result of the grammaticalization of Lat. *per hoc*, a sentence connector sometimes reinforcing *magis* (cf. It. *però*). The double adversative marker for a positive vs. negative first member is not attested in Latin.

of elements that can be coordinated and the way they can be coordinated, the following distinctions are usually made (Payne 1988; Dik 1968):

(i) There can be closed coordinations (when the number of elements is limited) and open coordinations (when, at least potentially, an unlimited number of elements can be coordinated);
(ii) When more than one connector is used, there are two patterns: repetitive (always the same connector is used) or correlative (different linked connectors are used);
(iii) When more than two elements are coordinated, there can be homogeneous coordination (all coordinators are of the same type) or heterogeneous coordination (more than one type is used). Heterogeneous coordination must be hierarchically structured, unless the different coordinators are formal variations without differences of meaning.

Latin contains examples of all these possibilities. Moreover, parameters (i) and (ii) are linked so that copulative-closed coordinations usually take marked correlative patterns (*cum* … *tum*), whereas open coordinations use the repetitive pattern in its simplest form (*et* … *et* …; … *-que* … *-que*; *aut* …, *aut* …) or combined different forms with the same functional meaning (*et* … … *-que*). Finally, as expected, every copulative and disjunctive coordinator may configure open series and closed series. Adversative coordinators only make closed sets.

5.3.1 Closed (binary) coordination

Closed coordination is always binary in Latin. For copulative coordination, Latin has several correlative coordinators which show different stages of grammaticalization.

Correlative copulative coordinators come from different sources, temporal adverbs being the most productive, e.g., *cum* … *tum* 'when … then'. They are attested from Cicero onwards. One example is (66):

(66) Plin. *epist.* 1,8,5: *cogimur* cum *de munificentia parentum nostrorum* tum *de nostra disputare*
'I am obliged to dwell on the generosity of my relatives as well as my own'

The correlative *non solum* … *sed etiam* 'not only … but also' and its varia-

tions (*non modo / tantum … uerum etiam,* etc.) are registered by Kühner & Stegmann ([1912–1914] 1976 II 2: 56ff.) as *Steigerungsformen* (reinforced forms) of coordination. In fact, all of them represent forms of focalized elements; mainly they are ways of expanding the focus: it is what Dik (1981: 64) calls "expansive focus". Early examples show that word order plays an important role in the grammaticalization of such collocations. In (67) we find an example of *non … modo – sed etiam* (where *non* and *modo* are not in contiguity) without coordinative value, whereas (68) is an early example of correlative *non modo – uerum etiam*. Thus, contiguity is an important factor in the grammaticalization process:

(67) Plaut. *Most.* 995: non *equidem in Aegyptum hinc* modo *uectus fui*, sed etiam *in terras solas orasque ultimas sum circumuectus*
'I was certainly not driven to Egypt from here, but I have carried around to desert countries and distant shores'

(68) Plaut. *Most.* 390: *satin habes si ego … patrem faciam tuom* non modo *ne intro ea*t, uerum etiam *ut fugiat longe ab aedibus?*
'is it enough for you if I make it that your father does not go in and also that he escapes far away from home?'

Sets of pronouns and adverbs in parallel distributions (*alii … alii, tam … tam, tum … tum*, etc.; cf. Kühner & Stegmann [1912–1914] 1976 II 2: 70) are less grammaticalized forms of coordination as well.

Besides, in particular cases, the same coordinators that configure open series can yield binary coordination sets, but in that case there is always another contextual element that introduces the limitation in the number of elements, as *utrumque* in example (69):

(69) Varro. *ling.* 6,36: *quod habet* utrumque *et tempora et casus*
'it has both tense and case markers'

For adversative coordination see Section 5.2.2.2 (iii).

As far as I know, Latin has no correlative disjunctive patterns.[26]

26. Heterogeneous combinations are registered in Kühner & Stegmann [1912–1914] 1976 II 2, § 170: 112; Hofmann & Szantyr 1965: 502–503.

In Late Latin, marked correlatives equivalent to *non solum – sed etiam* (there are no traces of *cum – tum*) occur as pleonastic collocations of coordinators and adverbs, or particles. So, for instance, in the *Itinerarium Egeriae* the following patterns are attested: *nec non … et* (seven occurrences), *non solum … sed et* (four occurrences), *nec non etiam … et* (fifteen occurrences), *nec non etiam et … sed et* (one occurrence).

5.3.2 Open homogeneous coordination

When more than two elements can be coordinated, the following patterns exist across languages:

(i) Polysyndetic:
   (a) Connectors precede (in prepositive languages) or follow (in postpositive languages) each member of the set ('& A & B & C' / 'A-& B-& C-&')
   (b) Connectors precede or follow all the members except the first / last one ('A & B & C' and 'A B-& C-&' type).

(ii) Asyndetic: connectors precede or follow none of the members except the last one ('A, B, C, & D' / 'A, B, C, D-&' type).

All these possibilities are found in all Indo-European languages and also in Latin. According to Dunkel (1982) in his study on *$*k^we$-*, the original pattern in double series of noun coordination is the A & B type: "the single *$*k^we$-* predominates in the oldest documents of each language family in which the single versus the double opposition exists" (Dunkel 1982: 136); thus, it must be also the most frequent in Indo-European. This is also the case in series of more than two nouns (A B-& C-&). However, differently from other Indo-European languages, which show a shift of the double use (A-& B-& type) in ancient times, Latin still presents in Plautus a preference for the single pattern of *-que*, followed by the A B-& C-& type, which is simply, always according to Dunkel (1982: 137), an expansion of the single use.

In Classical Latin the situation is more or less the same. According to its frequency, the open unmarked series ('(A &) B & C' type) is the non-marked one. Double coordination sets are the most frequent patterns, but series with more than two members are also attested in the same kind of pattern. The marked patterns are either polysyndetic ('& A & B & C') or asyndetic ('A, B, & C').

5.3.2.1 Unmarked patterns. Patterns of 'A & B & C' type for *et*, *aut*, *uel* conjoining nominals are well attested from Plautus onward. *Atque* rarely appears in sets of more than two members; *-que* and *-ue* are rare (Hofmann & Szantyr 1965: 515). Patterns with *siue* appear later and usually have two members. Some examples are (70)–(74):

(70) Plaut. *Asin.* 571: *eris* damno et molestiae et dedecori *saepe fueris*
'you repeatedly brought loss, trouble, and disgrace on your masters'

(71) Plaut. *Bacch.* 132: *iam perdidisti* te atque me atque operam meam
'now you have thrown yourself away, and me, and my labor'

(72) *Rhet. Her.* 2,4,7: *quaeritur ex . . . liberis* aut *seruis* aut *utrisque*
'we seek to learn from freemen or slaves or both'

(73) Plaut. *Merc.* 309–310: *seca* / digitum **uel** aurem **uel** *tu* nassum **uel** labrum
'cut off my finger or ear or nose or lips'

(74) Cic. *Sull.* 17: *eiecto* siue *emisso . . . Catilina ille arma misit*
'after Catiline was thrown out or sent out, that one sent arms'

Multiple open series of predicates and sentences are also attested, mainly with the copulative *et*.[27]

The coordination patterns follow the trend of all the other particles to redundancy (see below). Pleonastic combinations of disjunctive coordinators such as *uel aut* or *aut uel* also often occur in late texts (cf. Löfstedt 1956 II: 224).

5.3.2.2 Marked patterns. The marked 'A, B, & C' pattern is attested for nominals and predicates coordinated by *-que, et*, and *atque* (Pinkster 1969), but it is extremely rare for sentences. It is not encountered often in Pre-Classical and Classical Latin, yet it becomes the standard pattern in Romance. Cf. (75), (76), and (77) for some examples:

27. Lodge (1969: 538–539, *s.v. et*, 830 *s.v. uel*) collects series of four and five members.

(75) a. Enn. *ann.* 2,122–123: *Volturnalem, Palatualem, Furinalem, / Floralem*que *Falacrem et Pomonalem fecit*
'he established the priests of Volturnus, of Palatua, of Furina, of Flora, of Falacer, and of Pomona'

b. Cic. *Tusc.* 5,26: *honeste, sapienter iuste*que
'honestly, wisely, and fairly'

(76) Plaut. *Pseud.* 43–45: *salutem expetit / . . . titubanti* / animo corde et pectore
'she longs to have her own dearest wish from you with wavering mind and heart and soul'

(77) a. Enn. *ann.* 7,232: *denique ui magna quadrupes*, eques atque elephanti, *proiciunt sese*
'lastly, with mighty rush the horseman, at a four-footed gallop, and the elephants'

b. Plaut. *Curc. arg.* 2: *riualem scribit* atque *obsignat litteras*
'he writes a competing letter and seals it'

Disjunctive series of patterns like these are not attested in ancient authors (Cato, Plautus); their use increases from Livy (first century CE) onward (Kühner & Stegmann [1912–1914] 1976 II 2: 32).

The polysyndetic series '& A & B & C' work as a device for emphasis (see Amacker 2002). It is claimed that this acts as an individuation device.[28] As a consequence, the copulative pattern '& A & B & C' cannot have a collective reading: it is not found coordinating members of a prepositional phrase using *inter* (*inter *et A et B*),[29] which necessarily receive a collective reading. An example of *-que* is (78) and *et* is illustrated in (79)–(80). *Atque* is extremely rare in polysyndetic patterns (see *ThLL s.v.*):

(78) a. Enn. *ann.* 16, 411: *reges per regnum statuas*que *sepulcra*que *quaerunt*
'kings sought to build statues and sepulchers throughout their kingship'

28. This parameter corresponds to the [+separated] feature of Payne (1985).

29. All the copulative coordinators can occur inside an *inter* prepositional phrase in a collective reading. Cf. Plaut. *Asin.* 747: *inter me et amicam et lenam*; Plaut. *Capt.* 364: *inter me atque illum*; Plaut. *Capt.* 617: *inter sacrum saxumque*.

b. Plaut. *Trin.* 876–877: *amicum meum / cui ego liberos*que *bona*que *commendaui*
'a friend whom I left in charge of my children and property'

(79) Plaut. *Trin.* 882: et meum nomen et mea facta et itinera *ego faxo scias*
'I shall inform you of my name, deeds, and travels'

(80) Plaut. *Poen*. 282: *deos quoque edepol* et *amo* et *metuo*
'I love and fear the gods, too, by Pollux'

The *aut* polysyndetic disjunctive series configure exclusive sets (see examples (81)–(83). *Vel* is found in both inclusive sets, as in (84), and exclusive sets (85)–(86). (87) is an example of *uel* coordinating a multiple disjunctive set.

(81) Plaut. *Aul.* 23–24: *ea mihi cottidie* / aut ture aut uino aut aliqui *semper supplicat*
'she prays to me constantly with daily gifts of incense or wine or something'

(82) Cato *agr.* 1,3: *si* aut *mare* aut *amnis, qua naues ambulant,* aut *uia bona celebris quae …*
'if either the sea or a river where ships go or a good and much travelled road …'

(83) Cic. *Verr.* 4,14: *qui* aut *non minoris* aut *etiam pluris emerint*
'they have paid either not less or even more'

(84) Plaut. *Men.* 690–691: *tibi habe, …* / uel *tu* uel *tua uxor*
'either you or your wife wear it'

(85) Plaut. *Poen.* 1382: *quis hic est?* :: *utrumuis est,* uel *leno* uel λύκος
'Who is he? :: It is whoever you want, either a pimp or a Lycus'

(86) Plaut. *Curc.* 469: uel *uitiosum* uel *sine uitio,* uel *probum* uel *improbum*
'anyone vicious or virtuous, worthy or worthless'

(87) Plaut. *Rud.* 582: *tu* uel *suda* uel *peri algu* uel *tu aegrota* uel *uale*
'you can sweat or freeze to death, get sick or be well'

In Late Latin, the polysyndetic marked patterns ('& A & B & C' type) present a different form: the trend to pleonastic expressions followed by all particles (Löfstedt [1959] 1980: 56–68) also affects the coordination patterns. For a discussion of the correlative patterns, see Section 5.3.1 above. As for the homogeneous patterns, they lose frequency and a loss of specificity makes them appear in heterogeneous combinations. Heterogeneous combinations of copulative coordinators are already found in Classical Latin (see below, Section 5.3.3). In Late Latin, the tendency to combine them increases (Hofmann & Szantyr 1965: 515–522). It is also common to find combinations of copulative and disjunctive coordinators together,[30] sometimes with additional reinforcing adverbs (Hofmann & Szantyr 1965: 523–26; Löfstedt 1911: 61, 95, 197–198). Example (88) is an illustration:

(88) *Itin. Eger*. 39,1: *tam in ecclesia maiore quam ad Anastase* aut *ad crucem* ... sed et *in Bethleem* nec non etiam *in Lazariu* uel *ubique, quia dies paschales sunt*
'in the larger church and in Anastase or at the cross but also in Bethlehem and also in Lazarium and everywhere, because it is Easter time'

As for the marked 'A, B, & C' pattern, detailed studies on its occurrence in Late Latin are lacking. The data of *Itinerarium Egeriae* do not show a high incidence of this pattern, but rather the coordination patterns are the same as in the Classical period. In Romance it becomes the standard type, but it is a late phenomenon; in the first attestations of Spanish literature (eleventh century CE) the polysyndetic patterns are still normally attested.

5.3.3 Open heterogeneous coordination

Crosslinguistically, groups of coordinators stay at the same hierarchical level if they are in a repetitive pattern (*et*... *et*... *)* (Dik 1968: 45–47). In contrast, if a combination of different coordinators occurs in the same context, the coordination pattern must be at different hierarchical levels. Thus, a phrase

30. There are in Late Latin occurences of disjunctive coordination series (*aut* ... *aut* or *uel* ... *uel*) with copulative value and cases of copulative *et* instead of *aut* (*tredecim et quattuordecim annos* = *tredecim aut quattuordecim annos*; cf. Löfstedt (1911: 197–198).

like (89) must be read either as (90a) or as (90b), but cannot be read as (91), unless the coordinators have lost their differences:

(89) *John and Bill or Dick*

(90) a. [*John*] *and* [*Bill or Dick*]
b. [*John and Bill*] *or* [*Dick*]

(91) [*John*] *and* [*Bill*] *or* [*Dick*]

Heterogeneous coordination appears in Latin in two contexts:
(i) the coordinators are employed with differentiating value in order to create hierarchy in the set, as in (92) (cf. (93));
(ii) the coordinators do not differentiate.
The first type is illustrated in (92a)–(92b) and the second type in (94)–(95):

(92) a. Plaut. *Most.* 193: *nisi ego illam anum interfecero* siti fameque atque algu
'if I don't kill that old hag with hunger, thirst, and cold'
b. Plaut. *Pseud.* 42–43: *per* ceram **et** lignum *litteras***que** *interpretes / salutem impertit*
'through this medium of wax and wood and letters she sends her dearest wishes'

(93) a. [siti fame] + [algu] ("[thirst-hunger] + [cold]")
b. [per ceram + lignum] + [litteras] ("[wax + wood] + [letters]")

(94) Plaut. *Asin.* 649: *auscultate* atque *operam date* et *mea dicta deuorate*
'listen here, pay attention, and devour my remarks'

(95) Plaut. *Rud.* 627–629; *te optestor / . . . / te*que *oro* et *quaeso*
'I beseech you I beg and entreat you'

Using coordinators for variety seems to indicate that they have lost specificity. This type of coordination pattern is already attested in Early Latin (see Kühner & Stegmann [1912–1914] 1976 II 2: 36–37; Hofmann & Szantyr 1965: 515–516), but in Plautus, for instance, hierarchical series are more frequent than non-hierarchical ones. In later authors (Tacitus, for instance) non-hierarchical series are the norm. As seen in the examples above, the data include nominals and also sentences. The combinations attested are . . . *-que*

... et, ... et ... -que, ... et ... atque, ... atque ... et, ... -que ... et ... atque.[31] Cf. Lodge (1969: *s.vv.*). One example is (96):

(96) Plaut. *Mil.* 724: et rem seruat et se bene habet *suis*que *amici*s usuist
'he keeps an eye on his property, enjoys himself, and benefits his friends'

The most important change in the history of coordination patterns can be described as a simplification of the standard type from polysyndetic patterns to asyndetic ones. Thus, the standard pattern in Romance is the 'A, B, & C' type instead of the 'A & B & C' type. Nevertheless, '& A & B' is occasionally found in all Romance languages in marked expressions.[32] Disjunctive repetitive patterns (from *aut* ... *aut* ...) persist for expressing exclusive alternative disjunction.

6. Coordination and negation

Negative coordination markers can appear in two ways: either as negative coordinators or as combinations of negative adverb plus positive coordinator. An illustration of the first type is the Spanish negative coordinator *ni*, which occurs in open series (*ni Juan ni Pedro ni José llegaron tarde* 'neither Juan nor Pedro nor José arrived late'), and an example of the second is Latin *neque* (= *et non*).

From the point of view of the form, in Latin both types of coordination are found:

(i) the positive coordinators conjoining negated members (*et* / *aut non* type);

(ii) negative coordinator *neque* (*nec*) conjoining all members.[33]

31. I do not treat combinations of *neque* and the other positive coordinators as heterogeneous, taking the status of negative coordination in Latin into account (cf. below).

32. Cf. Fr. *satisfaire aux devoirs et de soeur et de femme*; Rum. *şi pe mine şi pe ea* 'and me and her'. Spanish and Portuguese do not use this pattern from sixteenth century onward (cf. Meyer-Lübke 1923: III 261).

33. *Neue* (*neu*) is used as a disjunctive connector of volitive subjunctive verbal forms or as a connector of negative purpose sentences. Although its etymology is similar to that of

Functionally, all of them work as copulative coordinators of negated members (= *et non*).

The source for *neque* (/ *nec*) is the combination of the negation adverb *ne* plus the postpositive copulative and disjunctive coordinator *-que*. Functionally, however, it works as *et non* since the first testimonies. Thus, it can be stated that Latin does not have a special negative coordinator. Example (97) shows a case where *neque* appears in a coordination set combined with *et:*

(97) Enn. *ann.* 1,40–3: *ita sola / postilla, germana soror, errare uidebar, / tardaque uestigare* et *quaerere te* neque *posse / corde capessere*
'thus, I did seem to wander alone and slow-footed to track and search for you, but to be unable to catch you in my senses'

Examples (98)–(99) show unequivocally the similarity between *nec* and *et non* as well:

(98) a. Varro *ling.* 6,77: *poeta facit fabulam* et non *agit*, *contra actor agit* et non *facit*
'a poet *facit* 'makes' a play and does not act it, and, on the other hand, the actor *agit* 'acts' it and does not make it'

b. Cic. *rep.* 2,23: *aut facere iniuriam* nec *accipere aut* et *facere et accipere*
'doing injustice and not suffering it, or both doing it and suffering it'

(99) Cato *agr.* 130: neque *fumosa erunt* et *ardebunt bene*
'they won't be smoky, but will burn well'

In (98a) the negation *non* has within its scope the element that follows it, *agit,* as is the case of *nec* in (98b) (*accipere*) and *neque* in (99) (*fumosa*). The functional behavior of *neque* has the same patterns and semantic readings as *et* or *aut*.[34] The only difference is that in multiple patterns, negative coordination neutralizes the differences between copulative and disjunctive coordination

neque, the grammatical integration of *neue* was not complete. It was replaced by *neque.*

34. There are also cases of *ac non* working in the same way as *ac*; see Cic. *Phil.* 8,9: *si homines illi ac non pecudes potius* 'if they are men and not, let's say, cattle'. No cases of *-que/-ue* with negation are found.

(Orlandini 2001: 117–149). Furthermore, these multiple patterns only get inclusive (negative) readings. See examples (100) and (101):

(100) a. Ter. *Eun.* 147–148: *habeo hic neminem* / neque (= *aut*) *amicum* neque (= *aut*) *cognatum*
'I have no friend here or relative'

b. Caes. *Gall.* 1,22,1: neque … aut *ipsius aduentus aut Labieni cognitus esset*
'neither his own arrival nor that of Labienus was discovered'

(101) Plaut. *Bacch.* 1041–1043: *duae condiciones sunt: utram tu accipias uide:* / uel *ut aurum perdas* uel *ut amator perieret.* / *ego* neque *te iubeo* neque *ueto* neque *suadeo*
'there are two alternatives: see for yourself which you choose: you must either lose the money, or let your lover perjure himself. For my part, I do not order you, or forbid you, or urge you'

The negative coordinator *nec* (*neque*) has been inherited by all Romance languages. The change affecting negative coordination is not formal but structural. In Romance languages the forms developed from *nec* need to be related to a previous negation. Thus, they cannot appear in simple patterns, but must appear either under the form "negation – *nec*" or under the repetitive pattern *nec* – *nec*. Nevertheless, there are still fluctuations in old texts (see Meyer-Lübke 1923 III: 259–60),[35] which present the same use of *nec* as the Late Latin examples in (102) (Löfstedt 1936: 1–6):

(102) Chiron. 483: *id autem iumentorum … si languet et pabulum* nec *potum adpetit, desperato*
'as for donkeys, if a donkey is weak and does not want to eat or drink, don't expect anything'

In (102) the scope of the negative *nec* is the two members of the set, *pabulum* and *potum*.

35. *Puso la tabla encima tan junta e bien calafateada que agua* ni *otra cosa alli podia entrar* 'he put the board so close and tight that no water or anything else could enter', *Amadis* 5 (fourteenth century); *en toda mi vida me han sacado diente* ni *muela* 'I've never lost a tooth or a molar in my life' (Don Quixote 1,18 [seventeenth century]).

7. Reinforcing adverbs

Copulative coordinators optionally take reinforcing adverbs (*quidem, etiam, quoque, adeo, sic*). An accumulation of adverbs attached to the connectors is a characteristic of Late Latin coordination, as previously mentioned. In the language of the *Itinerarium Egeriae*, for instance (see Löfstedt 1911: 59–64), collocations of *etiam et* are attested 36 times and there are also 40 occurrences of *et sic*. Some of these follow a grammaticalization process, resulting in new coordinators. This is the case with *sic*, which is the source of Rumanian standard copulative *şi*. Disjunctive coordinators may also take reinforcing adverbs (cf. Kühner & Stegmann [1912–1914] 1976 II 2: 106–107).

8. Summary. Review of the evolution of the Latin coordination system

Tables 1–3 offer a summary of the coordination parameters and their evolution throughout the history of Latin. Parentheses mean that the evidence is sporadic and double mark (++) high frequency. Long dashes (−) mean that the parameter is not relevant.

The system presented in Table 1 is the pattern of Latin throughout its history. As mentioned earlier, in spoken language, the system seems to have undergone small changes by the beginning of the Imperial period. In Late Latin the system is not very different. In the copulative and disjunctive system, the most obvious change is a pleonastic use of combinations of coordinators together with reinforcing adverbs. This must be the result of a weakening of the differences among them. Our most important source of knowledge is the comparison of the Latin system with those of the Romance languages.

In Romance, the general trend for changes is a simplification of the system in the number of coordinators. Table 2 shows different developments in the copulative and disjunctive series, on the one hand, and in the adversative series, on the other. For copulative and disjunctive coordinators, the most general markers are the ones that survive. However, in the adversative series, the standard form in Classical Latin, *sed*, disappears and is replaced by a grammaticalized adverb, *magis*.

Table 3 presents the final results of coordinators in Romance languages (data from French, Italian, Spanish, and Rumanian [Meyer-Lübke 1923]).

Table 1a. Copulative and disjunctive coordination

	Nominal coordinator	Predicate coordinator	Sentence coordinator	n-ary coordinator	First member Introductor	Binary members	Polysyndetic patterns	Reinforcing particles
et / *nec*	+	+	+	+	+	+/−	+	+
atque / *ac*[a]	+	+	+	(+)	−	+	(+)	+
-que	+	+	(+)	+	+	+/−	+	−
cum – tum	+	+	+	−	++	++	−	−
non solum – sed etiam	+	+	+	−	++	++	−	−
-ue	(+)	(+)	−	−	(+)	−	−	−
aut	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
uel	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
siue / *seu*	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

Table 1b. Adversative coordination (only binary)

	Nominal coordinator	Predicate coordinator	Sentence coordinator	Negated first member	Positive first member	Reinforcing particles
sed	−/+	+	++	+	+	+
magis	−/+	+	++	+	+	−
nisi / *ni*	−	+	++	+	+	+

a Coseriu (1977: 215–218), rightly in my view, considers the coordination with *atque* as oriented to the second member of the pair. This and its low degree of grammaticalization explain its differences from the others.

Table 2. Chronology of Latin coordinators

	Early Latin	Classical Latin	Postclassical Latin	Late Latin	Romance
Copulative coordination					
et	+	++	++	++	++
atque / ac	+	+	(+)	–	–
-que	++	+	–	–	–
Disjunctive coordination					
-ue	(+)	–	–	–	–
aut	++	++	++	++	++
uel	(+)	+	+	–	–
siue / seu	+	+	+	+	(+)
Adversative coordination					
sed	+	++	+	–	–
magis	–	+	+	+	++
nisi	–	–	+	+	–

Table 3. Coordinators in Romance Languages

Coordinators	French	Italian	Spanish	Rumanian
Copulative				
et	et	e	y	–
(et) sic	–	–	–	i
atque	–	a	–	–
Disjunctive				
aut	ou	o(d)	o	au
siue / seu	–	–	–	sau
uel	–	–	–	–
Adversative				
sed	–	–	–	–
magis	mais	mas	mas	(mai)
nisi	–	–	sino (?)	–
uerum	–	–	–	–
Negative coordination				
neque / nec	ni	né	ni	nici

The other important change in Romance affects the standard of the patterns. One of the marked patterns, the asyndetic type, becomes unmarked. The standard polysyndetic type ('A & B & C') is replaced by the asyndetic 'A, B, & C', which used to be marked in Latin. However, in late texts it is difficult to follow this change. A deep survey of the text of the *Itinerarium Egeriae* does not show a particular difference in the use of coordination patterns in comparison with the standard Latin system. The only appreciable difference affects the accumulation of coordinators and adverbs, but not the patterns.

The most important changes that coordination undergoes from Indo-European to Latin to the Romance languages are the following:

(i) The disappearance of postpositive coordinators. This change fits the general Latin process of the loss of all kinds of enclitics (Janson 1979) and the change of word order from SOV to SVO (Stassen 2000, 2001);
(ii) The disappearance of some polysyndetic patterns (& A & B & C);
(iii) The evolution of *nec* from negation plus positive coordinator (*nec* = *et non*) to negative coordinator;
(iv) The substitution of the standard adversative marker *sed* by *magis*.

The sources of copulative coordinators for Latin also agree with Stassen's parameters. Neither Latin nor the Romance languages have grammatical copulative coordinators that develop from comitative markers, but rather they develop from additive ones, aligned with case marking and with verbal tense. Thus, because Latin and Romance have case markers[36] and tense, they are expected to belong to the group of non-comitative coordinators, which they do.

36. Stassen (2000: 44) argues that case-marking strategy is a gradual parameter. Romance languages do not have explicit case marking for nouns but they do have it for pronouns.

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Questions and answers

Questions and answers form a naturally paired class of sentence-types in terms of their functions in discourse, but from a descriptive (and purely structural) standpoint they show differences that make them hard to integrate into a single presentation. Most significantly, questions can often be readily identified as such by various markers, certainly so in Latin, but more generally in many languages; whereas answers for the most part, again certainly for Latin, but also cross-linguistically, are not a formally distinct sentence-type.[1] That is, for questions one typically finds special morphemes, whether affixes or independent words,[2] which mark different question-types; and many languages, perhaps including Latin, have a special question prosody. However, it is rarely the case that there are overt markers or special intonational contours signaling an answer.[3]

To illustrate these points, we give in (1) a typical question and answer pair.

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1. This raises the problem of the relation between formal and functional types, which we address below. We take it as significant that standard grammars of Latin (and in general, grammatical descriptions and pedagogical grammars of other languages) do *not* have separate sections on answers or at most have a few lines about answers, versus pages and pages on questions. Joseph and Philippaki-Warburton (1987) and the grammars in the (now Routledge) series of which it is a part are notable exceptions. For typical discussions of answers, see Hale and Buck (1966: 137); Allen and Greenough (1903: 208).
2. We do not use the term "clitic" (see Zwicky 1994 for an eloquent defense of an approach to the classification of morphosyntactic primitives that is limited to WORDS and AFFIXES), while recognizing that there can be degrees of typicality in each of these categories. What are usually, and sometimes mistakenly, called *clitics* are simply, in our view, atypical words or atypical affixes.
3. Note, however, the Irish responsive verb form (discussed below) and the special *felicity* conditions applying to answers (or better, responses), by which we mean, the social and pragmatic constraints on when such a form can, cannot, or must be used.

(1) Plaut. *Aul.* 256:[4] *sponden ergo?* :: *spondeo*
'so do you promise? :: yes, I promise'

The question is unambiguously interrogative, marked with *-n(e)*, whose only function is to signal a question (either direct or indirect);[5] however, the answer can be a response to a question (as here) or, if occurring independently – with the exact same form – simply an assertion.

(2) *spondeo*
'(it is the case that) I (am) mak(ing) a promise/promises'

It is only when *spondeo* is paired in discourse with a question such as *sponden*[6] that it becomes an "answer". Answers, we would say, are inherently tied to some other utterance and thus cannot actually be discourse-initial, whereas questions can initiate a discourse.[7] Note, however, that even in Plautus or Terence, and in Latin in general, one-word assertives, such as *spondeo*, are relatively infrequent in contexts other than as responses. Therefore, we do not integrate the two parts but instead treat them as a pairing of a Section 1 on questions with a Section 2 on answers, though we include in Section 1 some indications regarding answers, with cross-references to a more elaborated discussion in Section 2.

4. All translations are the authors'.
5. See Section 1.2.2 for details on the syntax and use of *-ne* and on the other ways of signaling questions in Latin.
6. *Spondēn* can be reconstructed as *spondēs-ne*. Coda *-s* within words before a following voiced sound is lost, with compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel. The stem vowel of *spondēn* is long in Old Latin (*/spondēsn(e) > spondēn(e)/*). This change is not to be confused with the loss of word-final *-s*. In this position *-s* is lost only when preceded by a short vowel and only when the next word begins with a consonant, i.e., -V*s* ## C-.
7. For instance, you can walk up to someone you have never met before and begin a conversation by asking a question (e.g., *Come here often?*), but you cannot begin such a conversation with an utterance that is to be interpreted as an answer: compare how infelicitous it would be to lead with an elliptical statement; ellipses are common in answers, such as *in the refrigerator*, a possible answer to a question *where is the beer?* Note, however, that contextually, answers that correspond to metalinguistic "questions" expressed by such gestures as facial expressions can often appear to be discourse-initial.

A discussion of any phenomenon found in Latin raises several methodological questions pertaining to temporal focus and genre. Neither poses an insurmountable problem for our topic.

First, there is a historical question, as there are some 1200 years of what might be characterized as Latin, from early inscriptions of the late seventh century BCE through the literary Old Latin of Plautus, Ennius, Terence, Cato the Elder, and so on; the Classical Golden Age works of Cicero, Caesar, Virgil, and others; the Silver Age stylings of Petronius, Seneca, and Tacitus, among others; and even including what is usually called "Late Latin" authors, such as Tertullian and Macrobius. Over such a length of time, of course, changes would not be unexpected. However, it seems that there really are no major structural changes in the syntax of questions and answers in Latin between the final centuries of the Republic and the period of the Empire, approximately 200 BCE to 300 CE; at most, there are some changes in the use of individual question words (see Section 3.1).[8]

Second, with regard to genre, it must be recognized that the evidence for Latin comes from various sources, some literary, some inscriptional; and in general, languages can show real differences in usage correlating with genre.[9] Again, though, it is our observation that neither inscriptions, whether from pre-Republican Rome or from Pompeii; nor more literary Latin, whether high-style poetry such as Ovid's *Heroides* or dialogic material found in the plays of Plautus; nor even the carefully crafted rhetoric of Ciceronian orations differ in any significant structural way with regard to the formation of questions and answers.[10]

Therefore, our focus here is on literary varieties of Latin from Plautus to Tacitus, which covers a narrower time period, approximately 350 years, but offers the reader a suitable overview of these constructions and gives a basis

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8. On chronology see Cuzzolin and Haverling (this vol.).
9. For instance, the inversion that occurs with subjects and verbs that introduce quotations in English, as in '*that is something I will never do again', asserted John confidently*, is restricted to written usage and is not typically found in conversational English.
10. This is not to say that some specific question words might not be restricted to certain registers and styles; one would not expect a president to greet a foreign dignitary with *whassup?* or for Cicero to have used the Latin equivalent of *what the heck are the associates of Caesar doing?*

for discussing further some details of their historical development. Examples are thus freely drawn from the major Latin authors within this period.

Once we establish the grosser aspects of questions and answers in Latin, defined in this way, we turn in Section 3 to historical considerations, revealing the detailed differences evident within the Latin family, but also the issue of the development of Proto-Italic into Latin and even Proto-Indo-European into Italic.

1. Questions

1.1 Introduction

What are questions? It is worth noting at the outset that questions as a category present certain problems for linguists. First, both formally and functionally, questions do not constitute a single, clearly defined category. Thus formally we can distinguish constituent or *wh*-questions from polar (yes/no) questions (in Latin, as in English, not itself a single formal category) from echo questions. In English, these share certain formal similarities, specifically certain phrase level intonation patterns; and while it is possible that something similar held for Latin, this cannot be established with certainty.[11] On the abstract level, these formal categories have distinct functions as well. In general, questions are understood, abstractly, to represent a request for information. *Wh*-questions function on the abstract, sentence level, to narrow the identity (broadly defined) of the entity (broadly defined) denoted by the *wh*-element. For example, the question *when will you be here?* seeks to narrow the time frame within which the state of affairs *you will be here* applies. In such questions, the *wh*-element is typically focal. Polar questions, on the other hand, function on the abstract level to confirm or deny some state of affairs, and some lexical item reflecting an aspect of that state of affairs is typically focal, although it receives no specific morphological marking.[12]

11. See Section 1.1.1 for a discussion of the possibility of special Latin question prosody.
12. It is possible that one function of the Latin postpositive *-ne* was to mark the preceding element as focal. See Section 1.2.2.1.

Formally, echo questions typically repeat some or all of the previous segment of the discourse but in a way which marks them as a question. In English, they share the special intonation pattern typical of other formal categories of questions. As a separate category in English, echo questions also differ both formally and functionally from polar questions. First, they do not exhibit the subject–verb inversion or *do*-support typical of polar questions. Functionally, echo questions such as *you're coming with us?* are most often used to express surprise or critique. They differ from assertives, such as *you're coming with us*, only in their phrase level intonation pattern, whereas the polar question equivalent *are you coming with us?* is also marked by subject–verb inversion and typically functions as an invitation.[13] Since the use of such formal patterns is not a feature of questions in Latin, it remains to be seen whether such a category as echo questions can be maintained for Latin. Distinct from polar questions, echo questions have a number of pragmatically defined discourse functions but typically do not function to request information.

The plurality of functions that questions perform within discourse (i.e., as utterances) has been extensively discussed in the linguistic community.[14] These functions cut across formal classes. Thus, while abstractly, on the sentence level, questions express requests for information,[15] they are often used specifically, as utterances, to perform other functions within their discourse, including making directives (*can you please shut up?*), initiating social relationships (*how's it going?*) or change in activities (*is everyone ready to leave?*), indicating surprise (*surely you're joking?*), criticizing (*really?*), and so on. These functions are always pragmatically defined and discourse-specific.[16]

On the abstract level, questions serve to elicit a verbal response from a potential addressee in the form of an answer. In this regard, they share abstract function with directives. Both directly attempt to elicit some type of action or

13. Thus, English assertives show overall falling pitch contour with a particular high-to-low contour over the focal element, whereas echo questions show an overall rising contour with a correspondingly steep low-to-high contour over the focal element.
14. See especially the works of Searle (e.g., 1979) and Austin (e.g., 1962). See also Grundy (1995: 48–70).
15. That is, in terms of their *locutionary force*.
16. That is, their *illocutionary force* cannot be predicted solely on formal grounds.

behavior from a potential addressee. Questions and directives behave on the functional level in ways that are also similar to each other. Thus, directives can elicit answers, as in *get out of here!* :: *no.* Similarly, formal questions are often functional directives and elicit responses appropriate to directives from addressees, as in *you gonna eat the rest of that?* followed by the addressee passing the remainder of their sandwich. In Latin, as in other languages, the closeness of function between commands and questions is reflected in their tendency to cluster in discourse.

(3) Plaut. *Aul.* 415: *redi! Quo fugis nunc? Tene, tene*
‘come back! Where are you going now? Hold on, hold on’

Formally, then, we can distinguish the three categories of questions discussed above: constituent or *wh*-questions, polar questions, and echo questions. In keeping with the general approach followed in this work, we use the formal classification laid out above while bearing in mind an overarching functionally based division between questions that do not seek information and questions that do (admitting that these categories are pragmatic and not formal).

Constituent questions are characterized in Latin by the presence of some element marked by the initial sequence *qu-* or its later reflexes. This sequence corresponds to English initial *wh-* or *h-* and is a reflex of a PIE voiceless labiovelar stop $*k^{w}$-.[17] This *wh*-element is most often found as the sentence focus. That is to say, in those contexts where questions request information, the information requested will be the important new element in the discourse, which is the commonest definition of *focus*.

Italic maintains a distinction in non-oblique case forms between interrogative/indefinite pronouns on the one hand and interrogative adjectives/relative pronominal adjectives on the other. This distinction is reflected in the differentiation between the Latin interrogative pronoun *quis, quid* and indefinite pronoun *quis, quid* on the one hand (Oscan **pis, píd** and Umbrian **pisi**) and the relative pronominal adjective/interrogative adjective *qui, quae, quod* on

17. Forms like *cur*, *cum* are explained as derived from forms with initial k^{w}- ($*k^{w}or$, $*k^{w}om$) via the loss of labial articulation (rounding) before a [+round] vowel. Forms such as *ubi* or *uter* are explained as resulting from resegmentation (cf. Sihler 1995: 399 § 381.3). It is also possible that word-initial $*k^{w}$ was lost before *-u*, e.g., $*k^{w}ud^{h}ey$ ‘where’ $>$ *ubi*, but survived as *k* medially. See J. Schmidt 1893: 407.

the other (Oscan **pui, paí, púd**, Umbrian *poi*, *pae(i)*).[18] However, this distinction is not maintained in the oblique cases or in the plural. Thus it is possible, in some cases, for constituent questions and relative clauses to be formally indistinguishable. A sequence such as *qui peruenere, illos apropinquemus* could be read in two ways: as *who arrived? we should go up to them*; or as *let us go up to the ones who arrived* (depending on whether *qui peruenere* is read as a question or a relative clause). This formal ambiguity is particularly noticeable in the case of indirect questions.[19]

A similar problem holds for polar and echo questions. Polar questions are often marked by the interrogative affixal element *-ne*, although the inclusion of this element is not necessary and diminishes in frequency in some later writers.[20] Thus, in theory a sequence such as *ego intus seruem* (Plaut. *Aul.* 81) could function as a statement, *let me work inside*, or a question, *am I to work inside?* and only context (and perhaps prosody) serves to distinguish between the two.

In addition to the tripartite formal distinction, Latin makes a formal distinction in the case of direct (i.e., not embedded) questions between those whose verb is in the indicative mood and those whose verb is in the subjunctive. The latter are usually referred to as deliberative questions and seem to originate as hortatory subjunctives found in pragmatically defined question settings.

(4) a. *fecine ea?*
‘did I do that?’
b. *ea fecerim*
‘I should/might have done that’
c. *ea fecerim?*
‘I should have done that? / was I supposed to do that?’

18. See Buck (1928: 144–145); Untermann (2000: 558–560) for interrogative/indefinite; and Untermann (2000: 595–597) for relatives.
19. On which see Section 1.3.
20. Especially Petronius and Persius. Both of these writers are important for the fact that they often employ examples of colloquial or at least non-Classical Latin and so *may* suggest ways in which non-standard (i.e., non-Roman) Latin was developing in contrast to the Classical Latin of the Roman aristocracy. However, such evidence can give us tentative answers at best.

It is true that *-ne* is not obligatory in polar questions, but even without *-ne*, possible polar questions are usually not ambiguous when viewed *in situ*, functionally. First, as a question, an example like (1) *sponden* is followed in its discourse by a response, its answer *spondeo*. Thus, for the most part questions pattern differently within their discourse than assertives; they are typically followed by some response on the part of the addressee (the answer) and are subject to different *felicity conditions*.[21]

1.1.1 Latin question prosody

The question arises as to whether Latin had a special question prosody. The potential for formal morphosyntactic ambiguity displayed by all categories of questions suggests that it is likely that questions in Latin were marked additionally in some other way, perhaps prosodically. Touratier states this outright: "Dans la langue orale, les interrogations … se reconnaissaient à leur *intonation*."[22] This claim relates to a passage from Quintilian where that author describes a distinction, which he labeled with the term *pronuntiatio*, between, for example, *spondes* used as a question and in other functions:[23]

(5) Quint. *inst*. 11,3,5: *quid, quod eadem uerba mutata* ***pronuntiatione*** *indicant, adfirmant, exprobrant, negant, mirantur, indignantur,* ***interrogant****, irrident, eleuant*
'so what then of the fact that, by a change of delivery, one can use the same words to either demonstrate or affirm, express reproach, denial, wonder or indignation, interrogation, mockery, or to make light of something?'

21. The term *felicity conditions* is applied to special social and pragmatic constraints – as opposed to grammatical constraints – on when elements can, cannot, and must be used. Thus, the constraint on referring to the President as *they* is grammatical, the constraint on referring to him as *emperor* is a felicity condition.
22. Touratier (1994: 447–448).
23. This poses problems for editing certain types of texts – putting in punctuation such as a question mark may not always be called for by the *form* and thus is an editorial decision. For example, Petron. *Sat.* 36,8: *uides illum inquit qui obsonium carpit* is read by Heseltine and Warmington in the 1987 Loeb edition (p. 65) as a question: "'you see that fellow' he says 'who is carving his way through the meat?'", although they do not change the punctuation of the Latin to reflect their reading.

Quintilian's statement here raises an interesting possibility for any discussion of Latin syntax and prosody. What exactly did Quintilian mean by the term *pronuntiatio*? He himself states that he intends the term to refer to a combination of *uox* and *gestus* (*inst.* 11,3,1), which he compares with Cicero's ascription to the term of the features *uox* and *motus* (*inst.* 11,3,1). Quintilian also seems to refer the term specifically to oratory rather than to speech in general.[24] In examining this question, we should closely examine the examples that Quintilian uses to illustrate his claim that different types of utterance are distinguished by differences in *pronuntiatio*. He lists his examples as follows:

(6) Quint. *inst.* 11,3,8–11: *aliter enim dicitur: tu mihi quodcumque hoc regni et cantando tu illum? et tune ille Aeneas? et meque timoris argue tu, Drance*
'in different ways one says "you (reconcile) me to this kingdom, whatever it is," and "you (defeated) him at *playing*?" and "are you that Aeneas?" and "you, Drancus, prove me a coward"'

In all four of Quintilian's examples, the distinction at issue clearly revolves around the pronoun *tu*, which is "said differently" (*aliter enim dicitur*) in each case. All four examples are quoted from Virgil. Note that two of them, the second and third, are read as questions in the standard editions of Virgil, the former an echo question and the latter a polar question. In each of Quintilian's examples, the position and prosody of the pronoun *tu* differs in important ways within the context of the dactylic hexameter line. In the first example (quoted from *Aen.* 1,78), *tu* is in initial position within its foot. This position was called, by Latin grammarians, the *thesis* and was felt to carry the beat, the *ictus*, of the rhythm of the verse. In this first example, *tu* is then followed by a weak pronoun (*mihi*), which was possibly tonic, although it may well not have been.[25] In the second example (*ecl.* 3,25), the vowel of *tu* is elided (i.e.,

24. Quint. *inst.* 11,3,2: *habet autem res ipsa miram quandam* ***in orationibus*** *vim ac potestatem* 'this very thing (*pronuntiatio*) has an amazing force and power at least in the case of oratory'.
25. There is an argument in favor of the tonic reading for *mihi*, namely that if it were read as tonic at *Aen.* 1,78, its accent would have established, within the first foot of the verse, the conflict between word accent and verse ictus so important in Latin hexameter.

it should be read as *t' ill'*). In the third example (*Aen.* 1,617), *tu* is again foot-initial and is followed by the atonic interrogative affix *-ne*. In the last example (*Aen.* 11,383–384), *tu* is followed by a vocative noun phrase (*Drance*) and so is probably best taken as prepausal. Unfortunately, while all four examples seem to differ vis-à-vis the prosody of this pronoun *tu* in conjunction with the element that follows, it is not clear that one single prosodic feature is at issue across all four of Quintilian's examples; thus how this passage can help us identify some specific question-marking prosodic feature for Latin is equally and frustratingly unclear.

Importantly, the *form* of the question is unaffected by whether it is information-seeking or not; the same devices, such as the marker *-ne* or *wh*-words, are found regardless of the function. We cite in (7)–(10) deliberative questions from Plautus and rhetorical questions from Cicero, with both polar and *wh*-questions.

(7) Plaut. *Aul.* 81–82: *quippini? / ego intus seruem?*
'c'mon, am I supposed to work inside?'

(8) Plaut. *Aul.* 296: *quid negoti est?*
'what's going on?'

(9) Cic. *Catil.* 1,1: *nihilne te nocturnum praesidium Palati … mouerunt?*
'doesn't the night guard on the Palatine get your attention?'

(10) Cic. *Catil.* 1,1: *quo usque tandem abutere, Catilina, patientia nostra?*
'how long are you going to abuse our patience, Catiline?'

It is important to recognize that, as with so much in language, context is crucial; each of the sentences cited above as non-information-seeking could, under appropriate circumstances, be construed as indeed seeking some particular piece of information. For instance, if Cicero really had been interested in Catiline's feelings – if, say, they had been *amici* – he could have queried him with questions that were similar in form to those cited above as rhetorical.

Thus it is perhaps more revealing to look at the form of questions rather than to worry excessively about their function, beyond the matter of information-seeking versus not, and the matter of what has been called polar questions versus constituent questions, roughly equivalent to the distinction made

in English grammar between yes/no and *wh*-questions – in Latin terms, *-ne* versus *qu*-questions.

The traditional literature on Latin is actually mixed between functional/ notional rubrics such as "deliberative questions", "rhetorical questions", and the like,[26] and purely structural aspects, such as reference to *qu*-words, presence of question particles, and use of particular moods in questions (e.g., subjunctive in indirect questions). Thus in our discussion here, we cannot and do not ignore the traditional classifications but neither do we adhere to them slavishly; indeed, they present a suitable starting point for any discussion of Latin questions, but embellishment with other perspectives is needed as well.

In what follows, therefore, in developing our typology of Latin questions, we borrow from the traditional classification and exemplify the various categories with material from authentic Latin texts.

1.2 Direct questions

1.2.1 Wh-*questions*

The inventory of *wh*-elements includes the following: interrogative pronominal forms *quis*, *quid* 'who'; *ecquis* 'is there anyone who'; interrogative adjective forms; *uter* 'which of two'; *cuius*, *-a*, *-um* 'whose'; *qualis*, *-e* 'of what kind'; *quot* 'how many'; *quantus*, *-a*, *-um* 'how great'; interrogative adverbial forms: *quo(modo)* 'how, in what way'; *ut* 'how', *quam* 'how'; *ubi* 'where', *cur* 'why'; *quare* (*qua … re*) 'why'; *quando* 'when'; *quo* 'to where'; *unde* 'from where'; *qui* 'how'; and others. Adverbial *quid* 'why' is common in Plautus and Terence, and again in post-Classical Latin; in the Classical period it appears more often in indirect than in direct speech (see Cic. *div.* 1,59). *Quare* 'why' occurs once in Plautus (*Epid.* 597), then in Cicero and Varro, where it is also more frequent in indirect questions.

26. Not all of the classificatory schemes used in the standard grammars are all that revealing. Cf. Hale and Buck ([1903] 1966: § 503) regarding "questions of perplexity", "questions asking for instruction", "*quaestio absurda*", etc.; this is much too fine a classification.

1.2.1.1 Information-seeking. The classification of examples like (11) and others is determined solely on the basis of context; most directly, by the presence of a following answer.[27]

(11) Plaut. *Amph.* 450: *quo agis te?* :: *Domum*
'where are you going? :: Home'

1.2.1.2 Non-information-seeking.

(12) Petron. 10,1: *quid ego, homo stultissime, facere debui* ...
'what was I supposed to do, you moron ... '

The distinction between information-seeking questions and non-information-seeking questions is not hard and fast. Often questions can have multiple discourse functions.

(13) Petron. 20,5–6: *'quid? ego', inquit, 'non sum dignus qui bibam?'*
' "what about me," he said, "don't I get to have a drink?" '

In the context of the *Satyricon*, this question arouses laughter from Aschyltos's (the speaker's) companion. This laughter is then followed by the maid (*ancilla*) producing a container of wine (20,6: *apposui quidem adulescens* 'I put it next to you, boy'). Thus contextualized, the question appears to constitute a reproach and a request at one and the same time. Note that in (13) the position of postpositive *inquit* strongly suggests that, despite the accepted punctuation, *quid ego* forms a single prosodic unit.

1.2.1.3 Questions with multiple wh-*markers.* Occasionally, as in other languages, several elements in a single clause may be in the form of *wh*-words. The cross-linguistic rarity of such constructions may be due to the potential they offer for cognitive processing difficulties.

(14) Cic. *Q. Rosc.* 21: *considera* ... *quis quem fraudasse dicatur*
'think about who is said to have cheated whom'

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27. In the case of (12), any following response seems to have dropped out of the extant text.

1.2.1.4 Quid? Quidni? Quippini? Often *quid* (or *quidni, quippini*) is found in cases in which it is clearly not a verbal complement but rather seems to function adverbially to introduce a following question. In such cases it functions as an evaluative particle. In this capacity, the particle *quid* and others are often paired with questions having an evaluative function, such as deliberative, rhetorical, or echo questions.

(15) = (7) Plaut. *Aul.* 81–82: *quippini? / ego intus seruem?*
'c'mon, I'm supposed to work inside?'

(16) Cic. *Verr.* 1,10,27: *quid? hoc planius egissem, si ita narrassem?*
'what? Could I have done this more openly, if I had told it in *this* way?'

The standard punctuation suggests that editors read the element *quid?* as a distinct phrasal unit. However, cases like (17) and (13) above suggest that this may not always have been the case.

(17) Cic. *div. in Caec.* 35: *quid? illa, Caecili, contemnendane tibi uidentur esse ... ?*
'what about these things, Caecilius, do they seem to you worthy of condemnation?'

The position of the vocative, *Caecili*, and of the element *-ne* strongly suggest that *quid? illa* is best taken as a single prosodic unit. Opposing this is (15), where *quippini?* is separated from the rest of the question by the pause at verse end. Taken together, (16) and (17), both of which can be multiplied, suggest that *quid?* and the like sometimes form a separate prosodic unit and at other times are best taken with other extraposed elements as part of a larger prosodic unit.[28] In the latter cases, the extraposed elements are usually topical, and so *quid?* seems to function as a topicalizing particle in the mode of Gk. γε. Thus, while *wh*-words are typically focal, *quid?* is not.[29]

28. We can compare this use with that of the evaluative particle *hwæt* in Old English.
29. See (36) and (37) below, Section 1.2.2.5.

1.2.2 Polar questions

As mentioned above, Latin has an element that functions as a marker of yes/no polarity questions, namely the postpositive question marker *-ne*.[30] However, *-ne* is not obligatory in such questions at any point in the history of recorded Latin, although it is more common in earlier writers than in later and is most common in Classical and classicizing authors. In negative leading polarity questions, *num* is employed instead.[31] This suggests that these markers were not original to the category but came to be so associated later. As stated before, the absence of an overt question marker like *-ne* in some polarity questions can lead to a certain circularity in deciding whether some segment is or is not a question, although in the case of authors like Plautus, Terence, or Petronius, questions are often followed in the text by various types of responses, which make their identification qua questions less problematic. The frequent absence of any overt morphosyntactic question marker also suggests that Latin possessed, at some point in its development, some other, nonmorphosyntactic, marking for questions, such as specific phrase level prosody. Unfortunately, the evidence does not allow us to reconstruct with any degree of certainty what this marker might have been.

1.2.2.1 Polar questions marked with -ne

(18) Ter. *Phorm.* 102: *uoltisne eamus uisere?*
'do you want us to go to see her?'

(19) *CIL* I², 2187: *postquam ceciderunt s*[*p*]*es* [*o*]*m*[*nes*] | *consulis tun me?*
'after all hopes have fallen, do you ask me for advice?'

30. We deliberately do not call this an "enclitic" even though it occurs postpositively, as it may well be an open question as to whether it is a prosodically weak word or a true affix. Since *-s#* is maintained before undeniable words starting with *n-* (e.g., Plaut. *Amph.* 46: *sed mos numquam*), forms like *uiden* for *vides-ne* would point to affixal status; the loss of *-e#* in *-ne* may not show anything, since some words lose *-e#* (e.g., imperatives like *duc/dic/fac* (though *fac* is odd for other reasons)). In Plautus and Terence, final *s* is regularly dropped in the coda of unaccented syllables before a consonant in many mss. Ter. *Phorm.* 106–107: *capillu' passu', nudu' pes, ipsa horrida, / lacrumae, uestitu' turpis: ut, ni uis boni*

31. Cicero and a few Classical authors occasionally employed *numne*.

(20) Plaut. *Trin.* 470–473: *apposita cena sit ... / ... / ... / edisne an incenatus ... accubes?*
'if dinner were set out, would you eat or lie back and not eat?'

-Ne is typically found following the first word of the clause (often referred to as Second Position). When *-ne* is not found in second position, the question arises as to whether we can assume that constituents have been extraposed. The tendency, as indicated by the traditional punctuation of most editors, suggests that these elements have not been read as separate prosodic domains. However, the position of *-ne* in examples like (21)–(22) suggests that the elements which precede the "host" word for *-ne* (i.e., first position) may have been intended to be read as prosodically distinct.

(21) Cic. *rep.* 1,61: *quid? domi pluresne praesunt negotiis tuis?*[32]
'what about at home? are there *many* people in charge of your affairs?'
or 'what? Are there *many* people at home in charge of your affairs?'

(22) Cic. *Phil.* 1,14: *quid? de reliquis rei publicae malis licetne dicere?*
'what about the rest of the state's enemies? Can you speak about them?'

The prosodic interpretation of *quid* in examples like (16) and (22) and thence the pragmatic significance of that element are dependent on prosodic information which is unavailable. If *quid* in these examples represents a separate prosodic unit, as the traditional orthography (reproduced above) suggests, then it would appear to function as an evaluative expression, questioning some premise of the ongoing discourse much as English *what?* does in expressions like *what? I didn't do that.* Note, however, that in examples like (13) and (21), the position of the postpositive elements *inquit* and *-ne* suggest that here at least, *quid* forms part of a larger prosodic unit, inviting a similar interpretation for other, less clear cases as well. Again, in the absence of data related to phrase-level prosody in Latin, the argument about extrapositioning becomes circular. In the above examples, it seems that the extraposed

32. Perhaps (21) could be better punctuated as *quid domi? pluresne praesunt negotiis tuis?* and (22) as *quid de reliquis rei publicae malis? licetne dicere?*

elements function as cases of topicalization. In such cases, it seems that *-ne* typically follows the focal element in such sentences.

[*quid* … TOPIC] [FOCUS-*ne* …]

In examples like (22), it appears, based on the position of *-ne*, that the sequence *quid de reliquis rei publicae malis* represents a single prosodic unit as well.[33]

For a series of questions, *-ne* is usually found only in the first: *nonne hunc* in Cic. *Catil.* 1,27: *uincla duci, non ad mortem rapi, non sumo supplicio mactari imperabis?* 'will you not order this man to be arrested, will you not order him to be hurried to execution, will you not order him to be put to death by the supreme penalty?'

1.2.2.2 Unmarked polar questions

(23) Plaut. *Rud.* 1011: *uis pugnare?* :: *quid opust? quin tu potius praedam diuide*
' "you want to fight?" :: "What's the point? No, better you divide up the loot" '

(24) *CIL* I², 2174: *credis quod deicunt? non* | *sunt ita. ne fore(s) stultu!*
'do you believe what they say? (Things) are not so. don't be a fool!'

1.2.2.3 Disjunctive polar questions

1.2.2.3.1 -Ne … an

(25) Cic. *Att.* 16,8,2: *Romam ne uenio an hic maneo an Arpinum fug⟨i⟩am?*
'do I go to Rome, or stay here, or should I flee to Arpinum?'

33. The translations of (13), (16), (21), and (22) are intended to reflect this reading of evaluative *quid*.

1.2.2.3.2 Utrum … an

(26) Cic. *Phil.* 1,21: *haec utrum tandem lex est an legum omnium dissolutio?*
'this one, is it a certain law or an undoing of all laws?'

(27) Plaut. *Persa* 341: *utrum pro ancilla me habes an pro filia?*
'do you take me for a servant or for a daughter?'

1.2.2.3.3 Utrum … -ne … an

(28) Plaut. *Rud.* 104: *utrum tu ⟨m⟩asne an femina es … ?*
'what about you? are you male or female?'

1.2.2.3.4 … an

(29) Plaut. *Capt.* 334: *… priuatam seruitutem seruit illi an publicam?*
'is he a private slave, or does he belong to the state?'

(30) Ter. *Phorm.* 147: *pater eius rediit an non?*
'did his father return or not?'

(31) Plaut. *Bacch.* 162: *tibi ego an tu mihi seruos es?*
'am I your slave or are you my slave?'

1.2.2.3.5 … necne. *Necne* introduces a simple negative alternate, 'or not'.

(32) Cic. *Tusc.* 3,41: *sunt haec tua uerba necne?*
'are these your words or not?'

1.2.2.4 Nonne/nihilne. Polar questions which suggest a positive response are usually introduced by *non*, or less often by *ni*(*hi*)*l* and usually with the polar question marker *-ne* affixed.

(33) Cic. *Manil.* 16,46: *Mithridates nonne ad Cn. Pompeium legatum misit?*
'Mithridates, didn't he send an ambassador to Gnaeus Pompeius?'

(34) Plaut. *Amph.* 406: *nonne ego nunc sto ante aedes nostras?*
'aren't I standing in front of our house right now?'

(35) Tac. *dial.* 3: *nihilne te … fabulae malignorum terrent?*
'those terrible stories didn't frighten you, did they?'

1.2.2.5 Non. As with other polar questions, the marker *-ne* is often found omitted after *non* as well.

(36) Petron. 9,8: *non taces … ?*
'aren't you going to shut up?'

(37) Cic. *Verr* 1,20: *quid? iudices non crimina, non testes, non existimationem populi Romani sequentur?*
'what about the judges, won't they follow the charges, the witnesses, the opinion of the Roman people?'

1.2.2.6 Num. In Latin from the Late Republic on, *num* introduces polar questions which suggest a negative response. However, in earlier writers *num* does not necessarily presume a negative answer when it is used as a subordinating conjunction ('whether') to introduce indirect questions, or when it is joined to the indefinite pronoun *quis*.

(38) Cic. *Catil.* 1,8: *num negare audes?*
'you don't dare to deny it, do you?'

Example (38) is typical of the most common use of *num*, which anticipates a negative response. However there are examples where this can't be the case.

(39) Plaut. *Rud.* 1304: *quid tu? num medicus, quaeso, es?* :: *immo edepol una littera plus sum quam medicus*
'what about you? Are you a doctor?' :: 'Hardly, I'm one letter *more* than a doctor'[34]

The response initiator *immo* suggests that the negative response is in fact contra-indicated by the question that elicited it.

(40) Ter. *Eun.* 549: *numquis hinc me sequitur?* :: *Nemo …*
' "is anyone following me out of here?" :: "No one" '

34. Namely a *mendicus*, as the fisherman goes on to suggest (*Rud.* 1305).

1.2.2.7 Deliberative questions. Deliberative questions are generally not information-seeking and often suggest an internal dialogue (hence the name). These are possibly hortatory in nature (e.g., *let me kill Caesar?*).[35] These are often evaluative or critical in function.

(41) = (7) Plaut. *Aul.* 81–82: *quippini / ego intus seruem? an ne quis aedes auferat?*
'c'mon, I'm supposed to work inside? what? Is someone going to steal the building?'

(42) Plaut. *Bacch.* 731: *scribe* :: *quid scribam?*[36]
' "write!" :: "What should I write?" '

The indicative is as common as the subjunctive in questions that are truly deliberative.

(43) Cic. *Att.* 13,40,2: ... *quid mi auctor es? aduolone an maneo?*
'what do you advise me? should I stay or should I go now?'

(44) Cic. *Quinct.* 53: *ne hoc quidem tecum locutus es: "horae duae fuerunt, Quinctius ad uadimonium non uenit. quid ago?"*
'nor did you even say this to yourself, "it's been two hours, Quinctius hasn't appeared at his bail hearing, now what do I do?" '

The negative in deliberative questions is typically *non*.

(45) Plaut. *Aul.* 713: *perii, interii, occidi! quo curram? quo non curram?*
'I'm done for, ruined, dead! Where can I run? Where can I not run?'

1.2.2.8 Mixed-type questions. Often questions of two formal types will be combined in a single sentence. Again, this suggests how form and discourse function are not necessarily concomitant. Rather, use is determined by pragmatic considerations, of which form is but one.

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35. Note, however, that the negation for a hortatory subjunctive is *ne* whereas the negation in deliberative questions is *non* (see (45)).
36. This may well be read as an echo question; i.e., "what? I'm supposed to write now?"

(46) Petron. 10,1: ***quid*** *ego, homo stultissime, facere debui, cum fame morerer?* ***an*** *uidelicet audirem sententias . . . ?*
'what was I supposed to do, you moron, when I was dying of hunger, I suppose I was supposed to go on listening to his sermon?'

1.2.2.9 Questions in participle phrases.

1.2.2.9.1 Questions containing non-absolute participles

(47) Cic. *fin.* 3,37: *quam . . . utilitatem . . . petentes scire cupimus illa, quae occulta nobis sunt . . .* ?
'what advantage do we seek when we desire to know those things which are hidden from us?'

1.2.2.9.2 Questions in ablative absolute phrases

(48) Cic. *Verr.* 2,185: *tu uero quibus rebus gestis, quo hoste superato contionem donandi causa aduocare ausus es?*
'but you, on the basis of what facts, when what enemy had been overcome, did you dare to call this meeting to make this offer?'

1.2.2.10 Multiple constituents questioned.

(49) = (14) Cic. *Rosc. Com.* 7,21: *considera . . . quis quem fraudasse dicatur*
'think about who is said to have cheated whom'

1.2.3 Echo questions

The term "echo question" is used to label a set of utterances that (1) repeat some segment of the previous discourse more or less recognizably as a repetition or echo, and (2) typically function as a critique or refutation of that previous discourse segment. Like polar questions, echo questions often show no formal morphosyntactic marking qua question. Again, this suggests that Latin had some other, prosodic marking for such questions. Often, but not always, the "echoed" material is presented as a quote, but often it is presented

with appropriate formal markings (person, case, tense) of the shift in perspective (focalization).

1.2.3.1 With -ne. These are mostly found in early authors like Plautus.

(50) Plaut. *Men.* 162: *sed quid ais?* :: *egone? id enim quod tu uis*
' "what did you say?" :: "Me? just what you wanted" '

(51) Plaut. *Amph.* 817–818: *quid ego tibi deliqui, si quoi nupta sum tecum fui?* :: */ Tun*[*e*] *mecum fueris?*
"'what did I do wrong if I was with you, my husband?" :: "You were with me?"'

1.2.3.2 Without -ne

(52) Pers. 1,2–3: *nemo hercule* :: *nemo?* :: *uel duo, uel nemo*
' "none, by Hercules" :: "none?" :: "Well, either two, or none" '

(53) Plaut. *Pseud.* 1226–1227: *saltem Pseudolum mihi dedas* :: */ Pseudolum ego dedam tibi?*
"'at least you should give me Pseudolus." :: "I should give you Pseudolus?"'

1.2.3.3 With quid? The evaluative element *quid?* (see Section 1.2.1.4 above) often introduces echo questions in Early Latin. Such questions frequently present the material "echoed" as a direct quote, although, again, sometimes this material is presented with the grammatical changes necessary to show the appropriate shift in perspective.

(54) Plaut. *Amph.* 1021: *ego sum* :: *quid 'ego sum'?*
' "it's me" :: "What do you mean 'it's me'?" '

(55) Plaut. *Amph.* 409–410: ... *cur non intro eo in nostram domum?* :: / *quid? uostram domum?* :: *ita enim uero*
' "why don't I go into our house?" :: "What do you mean? your house?" :: "Just that" '

(56) Petron. 49,5: (*cocus tristis*) *diceret se oblitum esse exinterare, 'quid, oblitus?' Trimalchio exclamat*
'when the sad cook said that he had forgotten to put (the pig) in, "What do you mean forgot?" shouts Trimalchio'

1.2.4 Direct questions in oratio obliqua

The use of either the subjunctive or the infinitive in direct questions in *oratio obliqua* reflects the uncertain status of the verbal mood in super-subordination in Latin.

(57) Caes. *Gall.* 1,44,1–8: *Ariouistus … respondit … quid sibi uellet?*
‘Ariovistus answered, “what did he want?” ’

(58) Liv. 31,48,6–7: *magna pars senatus … censebant … quid tandem praetori faciendum fuisse?*
‘a great part of the senate was deciding what then should the praetor have done?’

1.3 Indirect questions

Clauses introduced by a matrix verb of asking, speaking, or some mental activity, which function as a complement of that matrix verb and contain an interrogative pronoun or adverb, are usually referred to as indirect questions. In practice, this category is ill distinguished either from the preceding or from the indefinite relative clause (i.e., the relative clause with no expressed antecedent). The formal distinction between direct and indirect questions is itself often redundant and so cross-linguistically not always maintained. This is the case, for example, in English as well as Latin. Thus we can compare standard English *I want to know who you called* beside nonstandard *I want to know who did you call*.[37] In Classical Latin, direct and indirect questions are distinguished by the latter usually having their verb in the subjunctive mood in contexts where the indicative mood would be expected in similar but nonsubordinated structures. The use of the indicative in indirect questions is usually ascribed to register. However, in practice, even such Classical authors as Cicero occasionally show the indicative in such contexts.

37. While this might at first glance appear to be a case of parataxis, for many English speakers these utterances appear as a single unit with respect to pitch/stress contour.

(59) Cic. *Att.* 1, 1, 4: *uides … in quo cursu* ***sumus***[38]
'you see what course are we in'

This usage became more common in later Latin.

(60) Tert. *apol.* 42: *quomodo infructuosi* ***uidemur*** *… non scio*
'I don't know why are we considered to be useless'

While the subjunctive is regular in Classical Latin, Old Latin and Later Latin admit the indicative in indirect questions. In Plautus and Terence, there are numerous examples of the indicative in indirect questions. Classical (Roman) Latin has the subjunctive in most instances. Where an indicative is found in the Classical language, it is possible to ascribe the use of verbs in the indicative to parataxis; although, again, due to the lack of indication in Latin texts of clause-level prosody, the argument is somewhat circular.[39] The increasing failure to maintain the subjunctive in indirect questions suggests that the category, as distinct from that of the direct question, was of minor importance as a discourse strategy. Its maintenance in Classical Roman Latin, seen in this light, had more of a sociopolitical display function than any specific discourse function.[40]

(61) Cic. *Tusc.* 1,10: *dic, quaeso, num te illa terrent?*
'tell me, I beg you, if those things frighten you?'

We can, then, distinguish three formal types of indirect questions in Latin: those showing the subjunctive, those showing the indicative, and those with mixed classes of verbs.

1.3.1 Indicative

(62) Plaut. *Curc.* 543: *scire uolo quoi reddidisti*
'I want to know who you gave it back to'

38. Shackleton Bailey (1965: 128), after Lambinus, corrects *sumus* of the MS to *simus*.
39. See, for example, Woodcock (1959: 134).
40. See (70) in Section 1.3.3.

(63) Plaut. *Aul.* 174: *scio quid dictura es*
'I know what you are going to say'[41]

(64) Plaut. *Most.* 458–459: *non potest / dici quam indignum facinus fecisti*
'it is not possible to say how unworthy a deed you have done'

(65) Cato *agr.* 6,4: *uineam quo in agro conseri oportet sic obseruato*
'note thus in what soil it is fitting for a vineyard to be planted'

1.3.2 Subjunctive

(66) Cic. *div.* 1,10: *quid ipse sentiam … exponam*
'I will explain what *I* think'

1.3.3 Mixed indicative and subjunctive

(67) Plaut. *Amph.* 17–18: *quoius iussu uenio et quam ob rem uenerim / dicam*
'I will tell you at whose request I come and for what purpose I have come'

As stated above, often there is a confusion of relative and interrogative clause types.

(68) Plaut. *Capt.* 206a–b: *scimus nos / nostrum officium quod sit*
'we know our duty what it is'

(69) Petron. 50,7: *ignoscetis mihi quid dixero*
'please forgive me for what I have said'

Latin authors themselves noted this confusion. Thus, in Diomedes' *Ars Grammatica,* dating from the fourth century CE, we find a distinction between the use in indirect questions of the subjunctive mood by those whom he labels as *eruditi* and the indicative by those characterized by their *imperitia*. This distinction correlates well with that indicated by the term register.

41. It is clear in examples like this one and the following that *quid dictura es* is the complement of the matrix verb *scio*, and that *scio* is probably best not read as a separate prosodic unit (i.e., as "I know. What are you going to say?")

(70) Diom. *gramm.* I 395: *imperitia lapsi … dicunt 'nescio quid facis', 'nescio quid fecisti': eruditius dicetur 'nescio quid facias', 'nescio quid feceris'*
'the untrained say "I don't know what are you doing", (or) "I don't know what did you do": This is said in a more educated register "I don't know what you are doing" (or) "I don't know what you did" '

Again, the relatively minor importance from a discourse standpoint is reflected in other cases of confusion of categories in *oratio obliqua*. The contamination of sentences of the type *nescio quid dicam* – wherein the subordinate clause is ambiguous between indirect and indirect deliberative – by those of the type *nescio dicere*, both with the meaning 'I don't know what to say', has led to hybrid sentences of the type with both an interrogative subordinator and a verb in the infinitive.

(71) Vitae *patr.* 3,14: *et non habeo quid bibere*
'and I don't have anything to drink'

(72) Coripp. *Ioh.* 1,273: *nescit quo flectere puppem*
'he doesn't know where to turn his ship'[42]

1.3.4 Num

Num is the commonest of the conjunctions for introducing an indirect sentence-question in Classical Latin. -*Ne* is also common, but *nonne* rarely occurs except after the verb *quaero*. The use of *si* to introduce indirect questions seems to have been a feature of more colloquial Latin, but a few examples do appear in literary prose, mainly after the verbs *exspecto*, *conor*, *experior*, and *tempto*; as in Cic. *de Inv.* 2,122: *ambigunt adgnati … si filius ante quam in tutelam uenerit, mortuus sit* 'the relatives dispute as to whether the son died

42. See Hofmann & Szantyr (1972, 2: 539); E. Löfstedt (1956, 2: 171 ff.); Norberg (1944: 259); B. Löfstedt (1976: 117–157). Possibly related to this is the late re-emergence of the infinitive used in purpose constructions, especially after verbs of motion like *eo* or *uenio*, and verbs of giving like (*tra*)*do*. In the case of the infinitive, purpose may have been one of its original uses. This use never completely disappeared (it is common in Early Latin and in the language of the Classical poets, and it re-emerges in Late and especially Medieval Latin).

before he came of age'; Liv. 40,49,6: *quaesiuit … si cum Romanis militare liceret* 'he asked if it were permissible to perform military service with the Romans'; Ter. *Haut.* 170: *uisam si domist* 'I will go see if he is at home'; Caes. *Bell. Gall.* 6,37,4: *circumfunduntur hostes … si quem aditum reperire possint* 'the enemy poured around (to see) whether they can find any entranceway'.

2. Answers

As we suggested above, there is no single consistent formal feature or set of features that marks answers as a distinct formal category of sentence. However, functionally, answers appear as the second of a dyad of utterances and so share certain features in common with other types of responses. Pragmatically, answers are typically marked by the repetition of some relevant feature of the preceding utterance or by the presence of some element which corresponds to the "missing information" sought. However, as questions have other functions on the level of discourse besides information-seeking, answers can also have forms which (cor)respond to these other uses. Answers then represent a pragmatic category and not a formal category, at least as far as Latin is concerned.[43] Since answers are always situated within a discourse, they need not be maximally explicit; therefore for Latin – and most likely other languages as well, so this is likely a language universal that is realized in Latin – we note that answers show the potential for a high degree of ellipsis (see Section 2.1.2 for more detail).[44] Given the various discourse functions of questions, answers can be informative, actually providing the information requested (e.g., *Can you hand me that hammer?* :: *Yes, I can*) or they can be responsive in a variety of other ways (e.g., *Can you hand me that hammer?* :: *Go to hell!*). In principle, there are too many ways to be otherwise responsive so that an exhaustive discussion would not be possible (though it is a source of humor in Plautine comedy); thus we pay most attention to ways in which

43. Again, however, Quintilian claims a *pronuntiatio mutata* for utterances that confirm (*indicant*) and deny (*negant*), which likely reflect certain types of answers (see Section 1.1.1 above).
44. Cf. especially Sperber and Wilson (1986).

answers are informative. In terms of length, answers can extend anywhere from a single word to an entire rather lengthy discourse. The information contained in an answer is also not formally determined. Rather, it is determined pragmatically, usually by the nature of the information sought. Thus the conditions which determine the form and content of some answers will usually be determined by the focal element of the question that elicits it. In a *wh*-question, the *wh*-element being typically focal, an answer which meets the felicity conditions will minimally contain the information which defines that *wh*-element; *what do you want for dinner?* :: *Pizza.* In polar questions, a felicitous answer will minimally define the state of affairs in question as true or not: *do you like pizza?* :: *Yes.* When the question is read as fulfilling some other speech act, then different felicity conditions come into play and so a felicitous answer will take a different form; c*an you pass the salt?* :: *Here*. or *shall we begin now?* :: *I don't have my book with me*, and so on.

2.1 Affirmative

2.1.1 Affirmative echo responses

An affirmative response can be made in polar questions by repeating the verb, which may be an Indo-European feature if we read the Celtic "responsive" verb form as reflecting a Proto-Indo-European use of the injunctive.[45] However, pragmatic conditions on felicity seem always to apply. Note, in the following, how the focal element in the question helps determine the form the response takes.

(73) Plaut. *Trin.* 50: *ualen? ualuisti n'?* :: *ualeo, et ualui rectius*
' "feeling well? were you feeling well?" :: "I am well, and I've been rather well" '

(74) Plaut. *Rud.* 1054: *tuos hic seruost?* :: *meus est*
' "he's *your* slave?" :: "He's *mine*" '

(75) Plaut. *Asin.* 638: *iam dedit argentum?* :: *non dedit*
' "did he *give* you the money yet?" :: "He *didn't*" '

45. See Watkins (1969) and Joseph (2002b).

2.1.2 Affirmative particles: etiam, ita, sic, sane

As stated above, answers do not constitute a formal category unto themselves, but are pragmatically defined. Thus, even though forms such as *ita* can be used as a one-word affirmative answer, 'Yes', it is not exclusively an "answer word", as it can be used in non-answer contexts (e.g., *ita loquitur Caesar* 'thus speaks Caesar'). This holds for negative response words as well (see Section 2.2).[46]

(76) Ter. *Eun.* 347: *numquis uis?* :: *etiam, ut actutum aduenias*
' "do you want anything?" :: "Yes, that you should come immediately" '

(77) Plin. *epist.* 4,13,3: *huic ego "studes?" inquam. respondit "etiam"*
'I said to him, "are you in school?" He replied, "yes" '

(78) Ter. *Andr.* 849: *quid istic tibi negotist?* :: *mihine?* :: *ita*
' "what business do you have here?" :: "Me?" :: "Yes" '

(79) Plaut. *Capt.* 262: *captus est?* :: *ita*
' "was he captured?" :: "Yes" '

(80) Ter. *Phorm.* 813: *illa maneat?* :: *sic*[47]
' "is she to stay?" :: "Yes" '

(81) Ter. *Eun.* 361: *estne ut fertur forma?* :: *sane*
' "is she as lovely as is reported?" :: "Yes" '

2.1.3 Answers with the emphatic particles, including enimuero, uero, sane, immo[48]

(82) Plaut. *Amph.* 362: *quid, domum uostram?* :: *ita enimuero!*
' "what! your house?" :: "Yes indeed" '

(83) Plaut. *Pseud.* 495: *numquid peccatum est, Simo?* :: *immo maxime*
' "no harm's been done, has it, Simo?" :: "Actually, a lot" '

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46. On the importance of sentence connective particles see Rosén (this vol.).
47. Latin *sic,* as a mark of confirmation, is usually taken to be the origin of Romance *si* 'yes'.
48. See Melchert (1985) on Hitt. *imma* and Lat. *immo*.

(84) Cic. *Att.* 9,7,4: *causa igitur non bona est?* :: *immo optima*
' "our cause then, isn't it a good one?" :: "Actually it's the best" '

2.2 Negative particles: *minime, non ita*

(85) Cic. *Att.* 8,9,2: *num igitur peccamus?* :: *minime uos quidem*
' "we're not doing wrong, then, are we?" :: "Well, not *you*, at least" '

2.3 Providing requested information (answers to *wh*-questions)

(86) Plaut. *Rud.* 237: *hem, quis est?* :: *ego Palae*[*m*]*st*⟨*ra*⟩
' "e-hem, who is it?" :: "It's me, Palaestra" '

(87) Ter. *Phorm.* 390: *quem dixti?* :: *Stilponem inquam noueras*
' "who did you say?" :: "I said Stilpones, you know him" '

2.4 Responding to an alternative question

(88) Plaut. *Merc.* 903–904: *uidisti*[*s*] *an de audito* [*i*]*nu*⟨*n*⟩*tias?* :: *egomet uidi*
' "did you see it or are you repeating something you heard?" :: "*I* saw it" '

3. Historical developments

3.1 Developments within Latin itself

As we stated at the beginning, Latin as a language shows relative stability in terms of its syntax across most of its later history. The primary shift, involving the loss of nominal inflection and the development of relatively fixed patterns of word order, which represents one of the major changes as the Latin dialects developed into the various early versions of Romance, is not attested within

the corpus of written Latin as we have it preserved from the third century BCE even into the Medieval Latin authors. That is, literary Latin shows a remarkable orthographic, morphological, and syntactic consistency, a consistency whose origins are as likely sociopolitical as reflecting any diachronic stability in the spoken language.[49] Within Latin, there are two main developments which can be observed in the syntax of questions, although in neither case is the change ever absolute, nor do these changes seem to reflect any wholesale re-analysis of the language. The first change consists of the replacement, in indirect questions, of the subjunctive found in the Classical Latin of Rome with the indicative mood. On the other hand, there seems to be a fondness, among Classical authors of Rome, such as Cicero, and later Classicizing authors, such as Gellius, for the subjunctive mood in super-subordinate clauses. Thus, while early writers, such as Plautus and Terence, seem to use both moods in indirect questions, in later Latin there is a differentiation between the elite language of the city of Rome and non-Roman Latin, which seems to divide along class lines (see (90) in Section 3.1.2 below). However, it is not the case, within the corpus of attested Latin, that either verbal mood was ever used with perfect consistency in these contexts.

The origins of the use of the subjunctive mood in Latin subordination may likely occur prior to the loss of the formal distinction between the subjunctive, optative, and injunctive moods and therefore may not represent a single straightforward syntactic change.[50] Adding to the complexity of this change, there is the tendency for confusion between indirect questions and indefinite relative clauses in certain contexts. Thus, sentences of the type *scit quem uidet* 'he recognizes the one he sees' versus *scit quem uideat* 'he recognizes whomever he sees' may represent the initial locus for such confusion. Moreover, at all stages of attested Latin, there is a tendency for the subjunctive mood to be used in cases of subordination which reflect generic contexts (cf. the relative clause of characteristic) as well as for potential and other *irrealis* contexts (cf. the relative clause of purpose).

49. Compare the case of the fairly stable Standard written English vs. Standard spoken English, which shows a fairly high degree of diachronic and geographical variation.
50. We have left aside the problems of ascribing the injunctive mood as a category to any stage in the development of Latin from Proto-Indo-European, as this question lies outside the scope of this chapter; nor is it of particular relevance for the point here.

The other syntactic change observed involves the interrogative marker *-ne*. This element as a marker of polar questions is found with some regularity in Early Latin writers, such as Plautus and Terence, although it is by no means obligatory. In Classical writers and in later Classicizing writers, its use is all but obligatory. However, in later and more vernacular writers, its use seems to disappear within the second half of the first century CE. Thus in Persius, polar questions appear both with and without the marker *-ne* with about equal frequency, whereas its use is all but unknown in Petronius.[51] The loss of *-ne* as a marker of questions would suggest that some other marker, such as a distinct interrogative type of phrase-level prosody, has made such morphological marking redundant and thus allowed it to disappear. Cautiously, however, we note that it is often possible for the status of polar questions to be deducible from context alone.[52]

If the loss of *-ne* as a marker of polar questions in Latin does reflect the development of a special interrogative phrase-level prosody, then this would constitute an important syntactic development in the history of Latin. In this case, it is tempting to read Quintilian's statement: *eadem uerba mutata pronuntiatione … interrogant* (*inst.* 11,3,176 = (5)) as proof of such a state for Latin of the early second century CE. However, Quintilian's claim is problematic in this regard (see Section 1.1.1), and we also have no evidence for distinctions in phrase-level prosody outside of Quintilian in any stage of attested Latin, nor for what distinction in prosody Quintilian is hinting at (such as tone, speed of delivery, stress, etc.). Thus the question must at present remain tantalizingly unanswered.

51. When we find *-ne* in Petronius, it is used only in verse and so seems to represent a portrayal of Classicizing Latin writers like Gellius. The suggestion here is that *-ne* was being lost from the vernacular, that is, outside the circle of elite Roman speech; however, literary evidence as evidence for what was happening in the vernacular is problematic at best, since of writers such as Petronius it can be said that (1) they were writing for that very elite audience, and (2) their motives were aesthetic and/or sociopolitical, not scientific; Petronius was not an ethnolinguist any more than Tacitus was an anthropologist.

52. Alan Kim (pers. comm.) has suggested that this may also be the case for Japanese and Korean, as neither language seems to have any morphosyntactic or prosodic marking specifically for polar questions. English statements as in: *I suppose you're going too* with non-interrogative tone contour can still often have an interrogative function, in part determined by pragmatic constraints on the use of *suppose*.

As far as Latin is concerned (but not Italic, due to questions in Sabellic inscriptions), the relevant time span for studying questions is from the beginning of Old Latin literature (ca. 250 BCE) to the end of Latin as we know it, the beginning of the Romance languages. And any differences that do seem to exist are largely a matter of detail, often involving lexical replacement (e.g., *si* for *num* in indirect questions) and the like, and not a matter of differences in gross typological aspects of the phenomenon. The same, moreover, seems to hold for answers.

3.1.1 Num *replaced by* numquid *in colloquialized varieties*

(89) Plaut. *Pseud.* 1330: *numquid iratus es … ?*
‘ “are you angry?” ’

3.1.2 Si *used for* num *in indirect questions*

In later writers, such as the fourth-century-CE author of the *Itinerarium Egeria*, *si* is often found in place of the earlier standard *num* in introducing indirect polar questions.[53]

(90) *Itin. Eger*. 45,3: *singulariter interrogat episcopus uicinos eius, qui intrauit dicens: si bonae uitae est hic, si parentibus deferet, si ebriacus non est aut uanus?*[54]
‘the bishop, his neighbor, asks each one who comes in saying if this one is leading a good life? If he respects his parents? If he isn’t drunk or vain?’

3.2 Comparative evidence within Italic: Toward Proto-Italic questions and answers

There are some forms around Italic (at least Sabellic, maybe Faliscan) that pertain to the question of questions, such as possibly related indefinite formations with *p*- from *k^w- that might give some clues as to the Pre-Latin/Italic

53. Cf. the use by many English speakers of *if* for *whether* in similar contexts.
54. Prinz (1960).

situation. However, due to the state of the corpus, these are difficult to interpret. Our reasoning here is that there appears to be some nexus of usage minimally involving PIE $*k^w$- in Latin for interrogatives and indefinites (e.g., *quis* as a Latin interrogative beside **pis** in Oscan, *quisquis* as an indefinite in Latin next to **pís.pís** in Oscan),[55] and there are lots of indefinites (more so than question uses) in Oscan and Umbrian, so we might be able to get a glimpse of what the Italic situation with interrogatives was by inference, by making some comparisons with indefinites around Italic.

3.2.1 Evidence from Oscan and Umbrian

While the corpus is small and lacks the kinds of texts which provided the most fruitful examples of questions from Latin (forensic texts, dramas, and the ancient novel), there are definitely some questions to be found in the Oscan and Umbrian corpus.

3.2.1.1 Direct questions. Within the corpus of Oscan and Umbrian, the only clear examples of questions seem to be constituent questions. Thus Sabellic does not offer any evidence for the origins of polar *-ne* outside of Latin. The one possible exception seems to be the use of Umbr. **sve** ‘if’ in Va 23–24 (see (95) below) to introduce an indirect polar question ‘whether it has been arranged properly’.

(91) Osc. Rix *ST* Cp 41:

p̣ẹṛḳium : I	**púiieh**	**súm**
gen.pl.	gen.sg.	1st sg.pres.
nomen	interrog.adj.	cop.

‘ “whose am I? (I belong to) the Perkii” ’[56]

55. See Untermann (2000: 561). Note, however, that the form is found cut into a wall in Pompeii with no other accompanying text.

56. From Capua. Read line 2 before line 1; Rix (2002).

(92) Osc. Rix *ST* Sa 31:

pis	**tiú**	**íív**	**kúru**	**púiiu**
nom.sg.	nom.sg.	nom.sg.	nom.sg.	gen.sg.
interrog.pron.	2nd.pron.	1st.pron.?	fem	fem
			‘tomb’	interrog.adj.
				‘whose’

baíteís	**aadiieís**	**aỵfineís**[57]
gen.sg.	gen.sg.	gen.sg.
masc.	masc.	masc.
praenomen	nomen	cognomen

‘ “who (are) you? (I am) a tombstone. Whose? (I am) of Baitus Adius Aefinus” ’

(93) P-Umb. Rix *ST* Um 2:

faletne	**poíeí**	**ṣkerfs**	**skerfs**	**heṛuseí**[58]
voc.sg.	dat.sg.	nom.sg.	nom.sg.	dat.sg
masc.	masc.	‘writing’	‘writing’	masc.
individual name	interrog.pron.			‘ask’

‘ “O Faletnus, for whom (is) the writing? The writing (is) for the one who has asked” ’

Here, the context, in the form of the answer ‘the writing is for the one who asked’, identifies **poíeí** specifically as an interrogative pronoun.

3.2.1.2 Indirect questions. As in Latin, indirect questions are found in Umbrian with both the subjunctive and indicative moods.

57. From Saepinum. Rix (1996). Vetter (1953: 113 no. 161) reads **aífineís** at the end of line 4. The form **íív** is as yet unidentified; however, in this context, where we expect the answer to a question seeking the identification of an element indexed by the second person pronoun **tiú**, an answer in the form of *I am (an) X* is not an unreasonable speculation.
58. Rix (2002). Rix (1996) reads **heruses.**

3.2.1.2.1 Indicative

(94) Umb. Va 7–8:

sakreu :	**perakneu :**	**upetu :**	**revestu**	**puře :**
acc.pl.	acc.pl.neut.	3rd sing.pr.	3rd sing.pr.	acc.sing.
neut.		imper.	imper.	neut.
'victims'		'select'	'see'	interrog.adj.

teřte :	**eru :**	**emantur :**	**herte**[59]
3rd sing.pr.	gen.pl.	3rd sing.subj.	3rd sing.pr.
pass.indic	dem.pron.	pass.	impersonal pass.
'give'		'accept'	'be fitting'

'let him select *perakneu* victims, and see, whatever is given, whether it is fitting that (some) of them should be accepted'

3.2.1.3 Subjunctive.

(95) Umb. Va 23–24:

ehvelklu	**feia**	**fratreks**	**ute**	**kvestur**
acc.sg.	3rd sg.	nom.sg.	conj	nom.sg.
neut.	subj.	masc.	'or'	masc.
'vote'	'make'	'member of brotherhood'		'quaestor'

sve	**rehte**	**kuratu**	**si**[60]
'whether'	adv.	perf.pass.	3rd sg.
	'properly'	part	subj.
		'arrange'	'be'

'let a member of the brotherhood make a vote, or the *quaestor,* as to whether it has been arranged properly'

59. Rix (2002) ST Um 1, Va 7–8, also Vetter (1953: 220).
60. Rix (2002) ST Um 1, Va 23–24, also Vetter (1953: 221).

(96) Umb. Vb 1–3:

ehvelklu	**feia**	**fratreks**	**ute**	**kvestur**
acc.sg.	3rd sg.	nom.sg.	conj	nom.sg.
neut.	subj.	masc.	‘or’	masc.
‘vote’	‘make’	‘member of brotherhood’		‘quaestor’

panta	**muta**	**ařěrferture :**	**si**[61]
nom.sg.	nom.sg	dat.sg.	3rd sg.
fem.	fem.	masc.	subj.
‘how great’	‘fine’	priest	‘be’

‘let a member of the brotherhood make a vote, or the *quaestor*, as to how great a fine shall be for the priest’

3.2.2 Other Sabellic evidence

In general, outside of Oscan and Umbrian, Sabellic presents a problem. The corpus is extremely limited and runs the gamut from difficult to impossible to interpret. Within Sabellic, besides what we find in the Oscan-Umbrian, there *may* be some forms in South Picene that may involve (pending interpretation) interrogative or, given the context, more likely indefinite forms – at the very least, they have *p* forms that suggest PIE $*k^w$, including **pid** (TE 5), **pim**, and **poi** (CH 1). However, these texts are still obscure, and the precise identification of the above forms is still *sub judice*.[62]

3.2.3 Remarks on the Proto-Indo-European situation to the extent it can be reconstructed with any confidence

Given the state of the evidence, reconstructing specific syntactic features for Proto-Indo-European is risky at best. Often all we can hope to do is observe

61. Rix (2002) ST Um 1, Vb 1–3, also Vetter (1953: 221).

62. Rix (2002) ST TE 5: **σidom : safinús : estuf : eσelsít : tíom : po** ←
vaisis : ***pid*****aitúpas : fitiasom : múfqlúm** →
me{n}fistrúí : nemúnei : praistaít : panivú : meitims : saf ←
inas : tútas : trebegies : titúí : praistaklasa : posmúi →
ST CH 1: (A) **deiktam :h[–]lpas :** ***pim*** **oftorim: esmen adstaeoms: upeke[- : -]orom: iorkes: iepeten: esmen ekú sim: raeliom: rufra sim:** ***poi*** **oúefs: iokipedu: pdufem: ok[r]ikam :enet: bie:** (B) **múreis: maroúm: -elíúm uelaimes: staties: qora: kduíú**.

the behavior of a few select morphemes in what amounts to little more than *applied historical morphology*. In the realm of question syntax, our observations here are thus limited to the reconstruction of a few morphosyntactic features; and even in the case of these, what we say amounts to little more than speculation.

3.2.3.1 PIE *mē. Indic, Greek, and Albanian show the reflex of a particle **mē* (Ved. *mā:*, Gk. μή, Alb. *mos*) in certain (dubitative) questions.[63] The daughter reflexes of PIE **mē*, however, have other uses as well (prohibitions especially), and it is not clear that any dubitative uses do not simply amount to cases of a pragmatically driven extension of those other uses in those daughter languages. That is, dubitative *mā*, μή, and *mos* are pragmatic and not historical. Latin, however, shows no traces of PIE **mē* at least overtly, *ne* substituting in its place. If PIE **mē* were originally dubitative in use, the Latin situation appears to be a case of substitution, with the loss of the morpheme **mē* in some stage of the development from PIE into Latin.[64]

3.2.3.2 PIE *ne. It has also been suggested that the Latin polar question marker *-ne* is in some way derived from a PIE negative **ne*.[65] The loss of the negativetive force of *-ne* in Latin polar questions may well have a parallel in the development of the Vedic comparative particle *ná*.[66] The Vedic particle *ná*, which is also postpositive and is used in comparative constructions, has been related etymologically to a Proto-Indo-European negative particle **ne.* If this etymology is correct, then like Latin *-ne*, the Vedic form *ná* has (also?) lost its original negative force and both particles have become postpositive.[67] On the other hand, Vedic *ná* exhibits greater flexibility in terms of its position within the clause and generally does not have clause-level domain, but phrase-level.

63. See Joseph (2002a).
64. See Joseph (2002a). Italic shows no obvious traces of any reflex of PIE **mē*. Note that reflexes of a PIE negation **n(e)* have a fairly wide currency in Latin.
65. See Ernout & Meillet (1964: 443–444).
66. See Vine (1978).
67. See Macdonell (1916: 236). Vedic *ná*, unlike Latin *-ne*, is accented in the oldest texts.

3.2.3.3 Interrogative and relative pronouns, PIE *k^{w}. Latin maintains a partial distinction between relative pronouns (and adjectives) on the one hand and interrogative/indefinite pronouns on the other.[68] In both cases, these elements seem to reflect a Proto-Indo-European pronominal stem **k^{w}i-/k^{w}e-/k^{w}o-*. It is not clear that Proto-Indo-European had an inherited morphological class of relative pronouns, as the daughter languages do not agree formally. Greek and Indic forms reflect a stem in **ye/o-*; the Germanic languages employ forms of an old Proto-Indo-European suppletive demonstrative pronoun in **so, seH$_2$, to*. However, the Greek of Homer and Herodotus (both primarily Ionic) also uses the reflex of this pronoun as both a demonstrative and a relative pronoun (besides forms of the relative built on the Proto-Indo-European stem **yo-*), whereas the Germanic languages came in historical times to employ forms of the interrogative pronoun as a relative (cf. Eng. *who, which*; Ger. *wer, was*) to varying degrees.[69] Italic seems to agree with Anatolian and Tocharian in employing forms of the interrogative pronoun as a relative.[70] Latin makes a formal distinction in the singular non-oblique cases between an interrogative/indefinite pronoun on the one hand and an adjective on the other, thus *quis, quid* beside *qui, quae, quod*. However, this distinction is incomplete, being lost in the other cases; and throughout the plural, Latin agrees with Greek, Anatolian, and Tocharian in that the indefinite pronoun differs from the interrogative pronoun in being atonic. In Italic, Anatolian, and Tocharian, tonic indefinite pronouns, or indefinite relative pronouns, are formed by placing the atonic indefinite pronoun after the interrogative pronoun: Lat. *quísquis*,[71] Osc. **pís.pís**, Hitt. *kwis kwis*, etc. In these cases, both elements are inflected separately, as in *cuiuscuius*, etc. In Greek, this formation is created by attaching the forms of the atonic indefinite pronoun to

68. These two categories, relative and interrogative/indefinite, are most clearly distinct in the nominative and accusative cases of the singular: interrogative *quis, quis, quid, quem, quem, quid* as opposed to relative *qui, quae, quod, quem, quam, quod*. In Classical Latin, this distinction is not maintained in the other cases or in the plural.

69. German *der*, *das* beside *wer, was*; English *that* beside *who, which*; OE *(se)ðe*.

70. See Freidrich ([1960] 1975) and Krause and Thomas (1960) respectively. The usual claim that Proto-Indo-European was originally paratactic and only developed more complex hypotactic constructions in the daughter languages relies on an evolutionary/teleological understanding of language development not supported here.

71. But also *ali-quis, ne quis, si quis,* etc.

either the uninflected relative stem *ho*-, as in ὅτου, ὅτινι, etc., or to the relative pronoun itself, in which case both elements are inflected, as in οὗτινος, ᾧτινι, etc.[72] These last parallels do not really amount to any real deep syntactic reconstruction per se, so much as reflect how atonic elements may have worked prosodically, namely, Wackernagel's Law, and how interrogative and indefinite pronouns worked lexically.[73]

3.2.3.4 Quid *'why'*. From a functional standpoint, Latin uses accusative case forms of the neuter interrogative pronoun *quid* as 'why?' (as well as 'what'). This use may be an inheritance from Proto-Indo-European, since Greek uses τί for both 'why' and 'what', and Sanskrit uses *kim* in questions for 'why' and 'what' as well. Note also that the particle use of *quid?* in evaluative questions (e.g., (8) above, etc.) may have a parallel in the Old English use of the interjection *hwæt*.[74]

4. Conclusion

In discussing the historical development of question syntax in Latin, two problems have confronted us. First, from the evidentiary standpoint, Latin is a written and not a spoken language; therefore we have no access to any information, such as phrase-level prosody, not recorded orthographically. While punctuation may offer some help, ancient, read *contemporary*, texts were generally not punctuated, and medieval manuscripts are not necessarily trustworthy, as the scribes who copied them were not native speakers of Latin. Sec-

72. See Sihler (1995: 384–401 §§ 374–385) for a detailed discussion of these points of morphology. A reflection of this in Sanskrit may lie behind indefinite uses of the pronoun *ka* as in RV 1,120,8 *ma:* ***kāsmai*** *dhātam abhi amitrine nah* 'don't hand us over to any enemy'. Old Latin may have *i*-stem forms of the relative (or indefinite) here, which will have some bearing on the differentiation issue (see Sihler 1995).
73. On the former, see Hale (1987). It is not clear that Wackernagel's Law reflects syntactic processes so much as prosodic ones; it does not operate exclusively on the clause level or the phrase level but respects prosodic domains which themselves may reflect syntactic units like clauses or phrases.
74. CF. Beowulf, line 1: *hwæt we gardena* || *in geordagum* 'look, we (of the) Speardanes, in days of old'.

ond, Latin, as a literary language (the only language, outside of a few graffiti, preserved), shows a remarkable diachronic stability that is probably more sociopolitical than linguistic. This leaves us with precious little evidence for what was going on "on the ground", so to speak. Despite these limitations, we have attempted to say some things about the slight changes that did take place within the corpus of written Latin. The most significant change, as indicated by the loss of the polar marker *-ne*, seems to have been a shift in importance for marking such questions away from morphosyntactic markers to some other kind of indication. Quintilian's statement in Book 3 of the *Institutiones* seems to suggest some kind of interrogative phrase level prosody like the pitch contours of English. However intriguing the evidence of Quintilian is, it does not support any conclusive answer. And so this question about Latin questions must be allowed to linger tantalizingly unanswered.

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Subject index

Index of classical references

The index of classical references contains textual information on classical works cited in the text. Latin authors and their works are abbreviated according to the conventions of the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* (*ThLL*). Citations of early authors, especially those preserved in fragments, may vary. Since there is no standardized set of abbreviations for Greek, we have listed classical Greek authors by their full Latin name, preceded by a fully recognizable abbreviation (e.g. Xen. = Xenophon). Greek works are abbreviated so as to be maximally transparent to non-specialists. Biblical authors and works are included in the index, though other non-classical texts such as *El Cid* or *Don Quixote* are omitted.